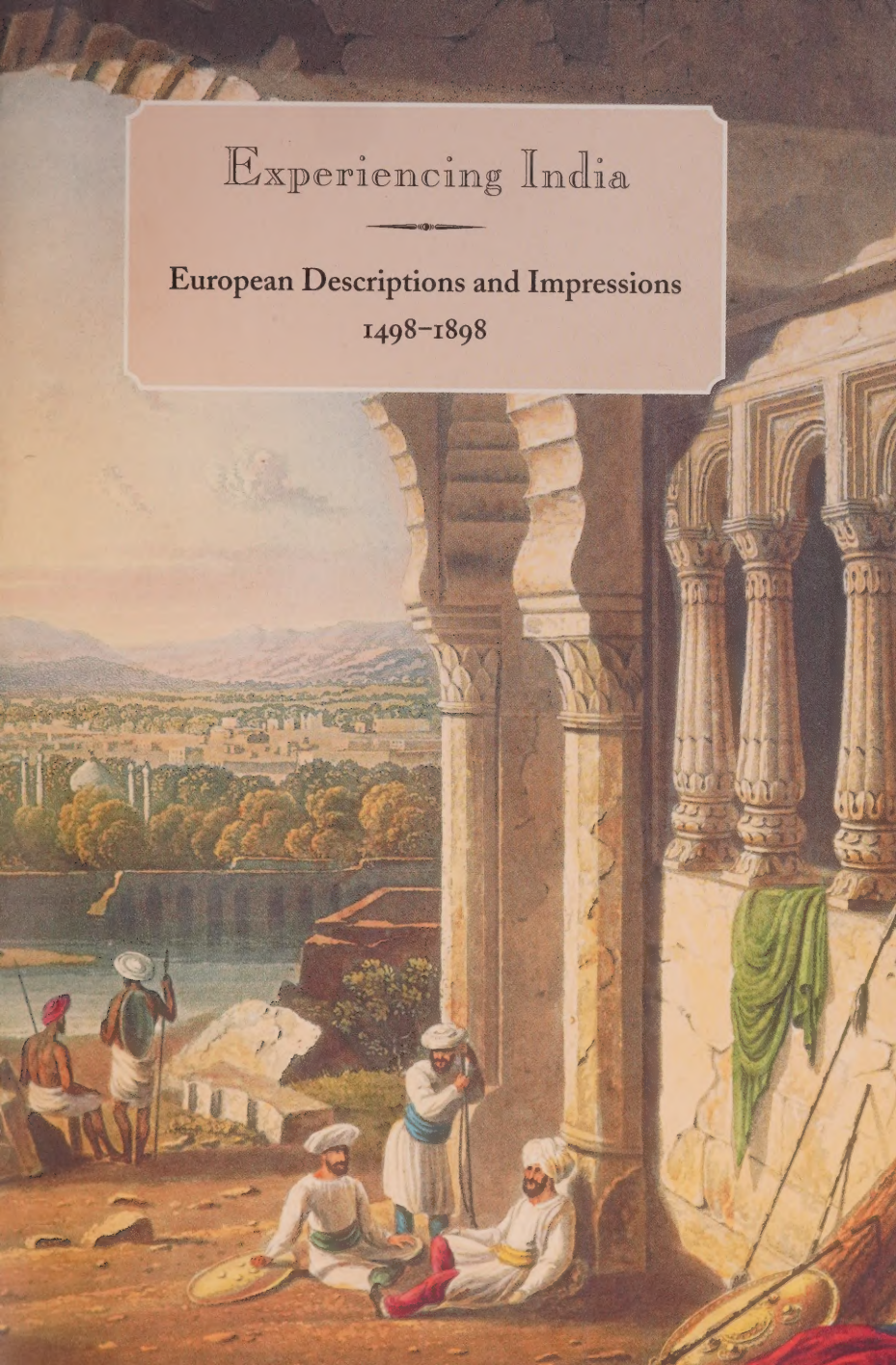
Experiencing India

European Descriptions and Impressions
1498–1898



EXPERIENCING INDIA

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Experiencing India

European Descriptions and Impressions, 1498 – 1898

WILLARD G. OXTOBY

An Exhibition held at
the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library
University of Toronto
19 January – 21 March, 1998

SPONSORED BY

1998

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Foreword

When professor oxtoby first contacted me concerning the possibility of mounting this exhibition, I reacted with interest, but I had a question. "Are you sure", I asked, "that the collections of the Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library have the resources to support an exhibition of this range and scope?" "Oh, yes", he replied confidently, for he had curated an exhibition with us at the time of the International Congress of Asian and North African Studies in 1990. He has triumphantly demonstrated that his confidence was correct. This exhibition is a wonderful instance of the power of research collections, built over a long period of time to reflect the wide-ranging interests of an academic institution. Unexpected discoveries can be made by a knowledgeable researcher in collections that have not necessarily been focused on a particular theme.

The electronic database was of great assistance to Professor Oxtoby in his attempts to discover what books we have relating to the Indian subcontinent, but his real discoveries were made in the books themselves, a richness of text and illustration that can illuminate an era. Had the exhibition been scheduled in 1997, the fiftieth anniversary of Indian and Pakistani independence would have been an appropriate theme. But 1998 allows us a longer span of history: the five-hundredth anniversary of direct European contact with southern Asia, which the Portuguese sailor Vasco da Gama accomplished when he landed on the west coast of India. We are pleased to display items from our collections that reflect the four centuries following that event. The overall history of the region is, of course, much older.

It is a pleasure to thank the Sun Life Assurance Company of Canada for their sponsorship of this catalogue. We thank as well Professors David Waterhouse and Milton Israel, who have lent items for display in the Reading Room cases.

Richard Landon
Director
Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library

AUTHOR'S DEDICATION

To my spouse and colleague, Julia Ching

This Exhibition

India is indisputably one of the four principal ancient centres of civilization, sharing that glory with China, the Middle East from Egypt to Iran, and the culture of Greece and Rome. The Indian subcontinent – from the Himalaya mountains in the north to the strait opposite Sri Lanka (Ceylon) in the south – is intended when "India" is referred to in this catalogue and exhibition.

"India" today is also the name of a political jurisdiction, whose present boundaries were largely established fifty years ago when the British withdrew from their role as its imperial rulers. Today's India shares the subcontinent with Pakistan, also celebrating its fiftieth anniversary. Other states in the subcontinent include Bangladesh, which separated from Pakistan in 1971, and Nepal, independent for centuries.

The variety of European encounters with the Indian subcontinent, from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, is the theme of what is assembled here. With the hindsight of at least a hundred years, attitudes and prejudices of Europeans in the past stand in contrast to many enlightened views held today. Awareness of India in the current generation owes much to the vital presence in Canadian society of individuals and families who trace their roots to the subcontinent.

Two things developed in the fifteenth century that frame the start of this exhibition's historical period. One was printing from movable type, introduced in Europe by Johann Gutenberg with the printing of the Bible in Mainz in the 1450s. The other was navigation, permitting the Portuguese Bartolomeu Diaz to sail into the Indian Ocean, around the southern tip of Africa, in 1488, and another Portuguese navigator, Vasco da Gama, to reach the shores of India in 1498, exactly five hundred years ago.

The ensuing record of discovery and travel, as it unfolded, was published in early European printed books that have come to be highly prized by collectors and libraries. The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library of the University of Toronto is fortunate to possess a represen-

tative range of materials, principally in English, from the sixteenth through the nineteenth centuries, in its own holdings. Hence it has been possible to draw the entire content of the main exhibition on the mezzanine level, Case 1 through Case 8, from the Fisher's resources. Because twentieth-century items have less frequently found their way into the rare book collection, this exhibition is focused almost exclusively on material at least a century old.

The Thomas Fisher Rare Book Library contains a rich concentration of books reflecting European impressions of India. Any full view of the interaction of East and West would emphatically need to include voices from the East as well, in conversation and reaction and dialogue. Such voices, through much of the centuries covered by our exhibition, were sometimes in manuscript rather than in print, and were often not in Western languages. Twentieth-century translations and anthologies of these, while not antiquarian books in the sense of this exhibition, are well worth the attention of the serious and thoughtful viewer.

What is displayed and described is only a small fraction of the bibliographic wealth to be explored in the University's library collections. It is hoped that this exhibition will stimulate many to explore further the shared history and destiny of East and West.

W. G. O.
December 1997

Contacts with India in Historical Perspective

THE EUROPEAN RELATIONSHIP with India over the past five hundred years may be viewed as the fourth major phase of outside contact in the broad sweep of Indian history. It occupies only the last fifteen to twenty per cent of that time span.

Back at the dawn of Indian history, in the second millennium BC, the indigenous Dravidian culture was dominated by a wave of invaders known as the Aryans or Indo-Iranians. Then, from the sixth century BC to about the first century AD, there was the interaction of Persians, Greeks, and Central Asian populations with India. The third major pre-modern phase involves Arab, Persian, and Turkish Muslim penetration of the subcontinent.

All three of these pre-modern phases entered the Indian subcontinent by land, via its northwestern frontier. That frontier is mountainous, but does have passes such as the Khyber Pass and the Bolan Pass, yielding access today to Pakistan from Afghanistan and Iran. Along India's northeastern frontier, the much higher range of the Himalayas formed a much more impenetrable barrier. It isolated India from any major population exchange with Tibet or China and meant that India-China trade would have to go the long way around, either through Central Asia by land to the west, or around Southeast Asia by sea to the east.

The modern European phase of contact was something different. The Europeans who arrived in India from the 1490s onward put in at the ports of western, southern, and eastern India. Only much later would they have extensive contact with the northern interior and the northwestern overland frontier, the former gateway of foreign influences. Hence the geographical roles of "gateway" and "old country" were to some extent reversed from the sixteenth century onward.

In another sense the modern European phase of contact differed

from those that had gone before. Each of the previous three phases had coupled military power to a greater or lesser degree with population migration. The Indo-Iranians came to dominate and settle. So did the Kushanas of Central Asia in the Hellenistic era. So did the medieval Persian and Central Asian Muslim invaders. But the shiploads of Europeans were small in number by comparison. They came to trade, not to immigrate. Their dominance was achieved not so much by numbers as by organization and discipline, by strategy, by superiority in arms, and in some instances by sheer luck. In the world of modern European influence, India was to receive more an infusion of new culture and ideas than an infusion of new population.

What the Europeans encountered in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries reflected the layering of these earlier cultural influences.

Language is one component. The indigenous peoples of the subcontinent three thousand years ago, at the time of the Aryan invasion, spoke languages of the Dravidian group, a group that today includes Tamil, Kannada, Malayalam, and other languages of the southern part of the peninsula. Their distribution implies that the Aryan population subjugated and merged with the population of the northern parts of India but never achieved comparable dominance in the south.

The speech of the Aryan peoples belonged to a distinctly different language family. In its grammatical structure as well as in its inventory of particular words, it was akin most closely to Persian but more distantly to Greek, Latin, and the Slavic and Germanic language groups, the last of these including English. The similarity of these languages, observed by Europeans in the eighteenth century, prompted a speculative but convincing reconstruction of common Indo-European origins, one of the great intellectual achievements of the nineteenth century.

It has been argued that populations who speak a common language are like a tribe or clan, with a common biological ancestry. Sometimes this has been so, but by no means always. With migration and intermarriage, people of different biological heredity can come to share a language, so that inferences from language to biology are tenuous at best.

In the Indian context the word "Aryan", however, has an important social significance. One branch of the people who called themselves Aryans moved into Iran; without leaving much evidence of having subjugated other population groups there, they gave their name (Aryan) to the country (Iran). But the branch that settled in India dominated the

Dravidians already there and came to be seen as the upper levels of society. Their priests and warriors emerged as the two top levels in the system of four broad classes in Indian society that has persisted through the centuries, and the name Aryan turned into the word meaning "noble". Not only in language but in the structure of Indian society, the Aryan-Dravidian contact of over three thousand years ago survives to the present.

When we move to the period after 550 BC, we find another important stratum of contacts. The Achaemenian Persians (Cyrus, Darius, and their successors) put together an empire more extensive than any previously known. It stretched from today's Egypt and Turkey to Tajikistan. And their sphere included Sind, or today's Pakistan, and lasted from the mid-sixth through the late fourth century BC. These Persians adopted the name Sind into their language as Hind, because of the regular correspondence between initial 's' in Indian languages and 'h' in Iranian. In effect, the Persians named the subcontinent for the region they encountered first, much as "Canada" was originally a region along the St. Lawrence River before the name was generalized to a dominion from sea to sea.

These Persians failed to conquer Greece, but in time a Greek-speaker conquered Persia. Alexander, whom many people (but not Persians) call "the Great", conquered the Achaemenian empire and likewise reached Sind, where his troops ran out of momentum. Since Greek does not have a consonantal character for 'h' in its writing system, the Persian Hind became Ind, or India. And though Alexander's conquests were dismembered by his generals in a struggle for control upon his premature death from illness, the Mediterranean-Indian contact that he opened up continued during the Greek and Roman eras.

It may well be that Alexander's invasion served as a stimulus to Indian political organization. For within a generation after him, the ruler Chandragupta assembled a kingdom in the Ganges plain of central northeast India that was on the way to becoming an empire rather than a minor city-state. His dynasty, the Mauryas, was marked by the mid-third-century-BC rule of Ashoka, who subdued much of northern and eastern India. After putting down the opposition, Ashoka became a patron of Buddhism, counselling non-violence.

Over much of the time, ancient India was regionally divided, one centre not usually controlling others for long periods. In the times after the Mauryas, one important ancient dynasty was the Guptas, strong

again in the north and east from about the fourth to sixth centuries AD.

In the centuries after Alexander, there was trade with the Mediterranean in Indian products, both overland via Iran and maritime via the Red Sea; of this we have historical documentation. There may well have been trade in ideas also, but that is harder to pin down. What is beyond dispute is the influence of Greek artistic styles and the presence of Greek names on India's northwestern frontier well into the early centuries AD. Indian Buddhist art shows this influence in the way human figures are sculptured and in the way that clothing is represented on them. Indian Buddhist texts include one in question-and-answer dialogue form that portrays a king named Milinda (i.e., Menander) as an inquirer who comes to appreciate the logic of Buddhist doctrine. And as cultural contact continued, Syrian Christianity came to be established in enclaves on the southwestern coast of India.

The third and most palpable outside contact with India came after the seventh century, with the rise of Islam. First Arab, then Persian and Turkic Muslims campaigned into the northwestern part of the subcontinent and eventually established Islamic regimes and populations. These ruled not only the Indus plain in the northwest but the Ganges plain in the central northeast all the way to Bengal, and a Muslim presence was also established in parts of the mid-southern interior plateau called the Deccan.

India was something new to Islam. It was the first major region to which Islam spread where the majority of the indigenous population did not convert to it; in most parts of India where Muslims ruled, they became the masters of a largely non-Muslim population. But Islam was also something new to India. For it represented the first dominant influence of the idea of exclusive, boundaried religious communities in society.

To sum up: the Dravidian component, the Aryan or Indo-European component, the Greco-Indian component, and the Islamic component all were present as parts of the picture when Europeans arrived on India's shores. It is no surprise, therefore, that Europe would perceive India in diverse descriptions and views, and that sorting them out might require time and patience.

Finding the Way
European Maps of India and the Indies

WE TAKE MAPS FOR GRANTED TODAY. Any part of the earth's surface can be photographed from the air, and within the past generation humans have also been able to photograph the entire earth from space.

Things were different once upon a time. The continents were explored from the surface only. The information for mapping came from what people could observe at close range, whether travelling by accessible routes on land or by sailing on navigable waters. Even for mapping inland regions, water was important, in that major rivers and their principal tributaries often served as the skeleton on which other information about a territory could be placed.

But as Europeans pushed out to learn about the rest of the world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it was the observations from ocean navigation that were fundamental to their mapping of the globe. The outlines of the continents were drawn in detail, each bay and each headland, before explorers could proceed up all the rivers whose estuaries they could chart.

And mapping the Earth depended on mapping the heavens. This was so because in navigation, one's precise location while navigating the seas was determined by observation of the sun and stars. Hence in the work of the celebrated sixteenth-century cartographer Gerhard Mercator, creating a celestial globe (a star map in globe form) was a parallel achievement to creating a terrestrial globe.

European navigation in the fifteenth century was not born in a vacuum. In many ways, it was influenced by the work of the ancient astronomer Ptolemy. Claudius Ptolemy worked in Alexandria, Egypt,

during the first half of the second century. He is remembered mainly for his astronomical theories that placed the Earth at the centre of the universe, but he also made a contribution to geography by charting the observations of latitude and longitude (through astronomical observation) for various locations in the then known world, including India.

Ptolemy's own calculations and maps were far from accurate: he had Asia extending too far to the east, he had the Equator too far north, and he thought the Indian Ocean was bounded by a southern continent well to the north of, and much larger than, what the modern world knows as Antarctica. But Ptolemy's conception of the extent of Asia had an influence that lasted for centuries. It probably contributed to Christopher Columbus's determination to seek a route to India by sailing west from Spain.

The view in Columbus's day that one might reach India by going west accounts, of course, for the naming of the Caribbean islands as the "West Indies" and the indigenous peoples of the Americas as "Indians". But we should remember also that the name of India was formerly applied eastward well beyond the Indian subcontinent. Peninsular and island Southeast Asia – today's Malaysia and Indonesia – were "the Indies", or eventually for clarity, the East Indies. While the British East India Company operated in what became Calcutta, the Dutch East India Company was doing business in what is now Jakarta.

The maps in this display case illustrate the change that took place over time in the European geographical knowledge of India and the Indies. From Ptolemy was derived the distinction between *India intra Gangem*, India "within", or west of, the Ganges, and *India extra Gangem*, India beyond the Ganges. We can see it on the tenth map of ancient Asia according to Ptolemy, with the city "Palibothra" (Pataliputra, or modern Patna) marked on the bank of the river. As late as 1602, the Mercator atlas's map of Asia shows Palibothra on the Ganges, but the Ganges flowing into the Pacific at what is now Guangzhou or Canton!

Similarly, the Mercator atlas has the island of Luzon in the northern Philippines not as a single fair-sized island, and Palawan in the southwestern Philippines is squat rather than slender. In many cases, it appears, the navigational reports on which early maps were based were better at near-range inventorying from one coastal feature to the next than at achieving a large-scale grasp of the structures around which people sailed. A feature of Mercator's 1602 map of Asia that Matthaeus Seutter perpetuates more than a century later is the idea that several

parallel rivers of Southeast Asia, such as the Mekong and Salween, all flow from a lake in the interior between Burma, China, and Tibet as their common source.

Another feature evident in the maps of the sixteenth through eighteenth centuries, and borne out in textual materials as well, is the variety of names that the Europeans applied to different regions of India. The inland north came to be known as the territory of the Great Mogul, or Hindustan; that was appropriate enough. But what about the south? Was it the Carnatic (Karnataka)? To some, it was; and Karnataka persists as the name of the southern interior state today. Was it Golconda? Yes, though the region is divided between Andhra Pradesh and Madhya Pradesh today. Was it the Deccan? Yes, and this is a topographic more than a political designation for the plateau today. Within virtually any fifty-year span, we can observe shifts in the regional nomenclature used by European cartographers.

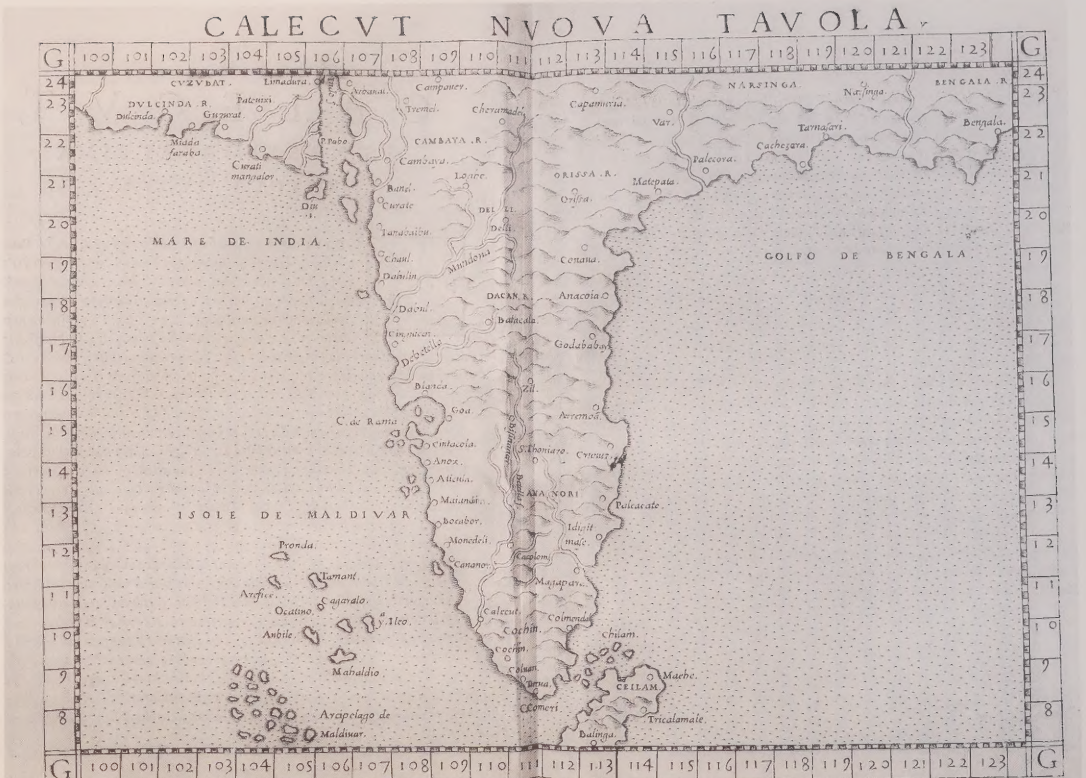
By the end of the eighteenth century, European cartography reached a control of the data that we would recognize as accurate, for most of the region. The Faden map of the Indies, displayed in this exhibition, is an example. What remained for the nineteenth century to describe in greater detail was the Afghan region on the northwestern frontier; and the twentieth century filled in a few gaps in the high country of Kashmir, Ladakh, and Tibet.

Claudius Ptolemy. ***La Geografia di Claudio Tolomeo Alessandrino.*** **Nuouamente Tradotta di Greco in Italiano, da Girolamo Ruscelli … Venetia: Appresso Vincenzo Valgrisi, 1561.**

This Italian translation of Ptolemy is opened to the tenth map in the series on Asia, showing India based on Ptolemy's description. India clearly does not project as far south from the Asian land mass as Europeans had now come to realize; another map, of "Calicut", in the same volume shows the sixteenth-century awareness of the peninsula.

In the map according to Ptolemy, India is clearly flanked to the south by land that he had imagined to exist there. As late as the eighteenth century, many still followed Ptolemy and hoped to discover such a continent. It was only in 1775 that the voyages of Captain James Cook would show the region to be open water.

The proportion of place names in Ptolemy's geographical description that are readily recognizable as surviving place names today is small, but


CALECVT NVOVA TAVOLA
CVZVBAT.
Limadura
DVLCINDA R.
Batenisi
Dolcinda
Guzurat
Midda farabo.
Curati mangalor.
Dim
MARE DE INDIA.
Nroanat.
Computey.
Tremel.
Cheramadel
CAMBAYA R.
Cambaya.
Louve.
Batel.
Curate
Tanadaliou.
Chaul.
Dabilin
Dacul.
Dabolchia
Bianca.
Goa
C. de Ramo
Cintacolia.
Anex.
Aliunia.
Matandor.
Iberabor.
Mondecri
Canano.
ISOLE DE MALDIVAR
Pronda.
Tamant.
Ocatino.
Anbile
Maldivar.
Arcipelago de Maldiuar.
Deli
Mindoua
DACAN R.
Batacala
Zil.
Cruenit
Rachemi
Calecut.
Cochin.
Cocrim.
Cranganor
Coimenda
Chilam.
Maebe.
CEILAM
Comeri
Tricalamale.
Dalinga
Capamircia.
Var.
Palecora.
ORISSA R.
Orissa.
Conana.
Anacoia
Godababur
Portenoa
S. Thomaso
ANANORI
Palcacate.
Idigit mase.
Matapar.
NARSINGA.
Narsinga.
BENGALA R.
Tamasari.
Cachegara.
Matepata.
GOLFO DE BENGALA.
Bengala.

some may be noted: Syrastrene for Saurashtra, Modoura for Mathura, Palimbothra for Pataliputra (Patna), Nasika for Nasik.

Gerhard Mercator. ***Atlas siue Cosmographicae Meditationes de Fabrica Mundi et Fabricati Figura.*** **Duisburgi: Cl[iuorum, 1602]**

Gerardus Mercator (1512–94), the leading geographer and map-maker of the sixteenth century, worked in Belgium until the age of 32 when, after being caught in Reformation religious controversies and imprisoned for seven months on a charge of heresy, he moved to Germany. His well-known cylindrical projection of the world on a flat map was produced in 1569.

OPPOSITE: *the sixteenth-century Calicut map added to Ptolemy's* Geographia

He named his ambitious project, to describe the creation and history of the world, for the Greek divine figure Atlas, supporter of the Earth. This terminology, which he originated, has gone into various languages as the standard term for a collection of maps. The project appeared in sections from 1569 through to a posthumous one of 1595, seen through the press by his son. The copy exhibited is the reprint of 1602. A subsquent reprint, with added maps, known as the Mercator-Hondius Atlas, came out in 1606.

The 1602 map of Asia, shown in this exhibition, has the Ganges flowing into the Pacific, as mentioned above. It shows Java distinctly larger than Borneo, and the Malay peninsula much thicker in relation to its length than it is now known to be. But Mercator had a remarkable gift for assimilating and integrating information received from ancient and current sources. He combined this with an engraver's skill and a graceful italic script.

Abraham Ortelius. ***An Epitome of Ortelius, His Theatre of the VVorld, VVherein the Principal Regions of the Earth Are Described in Smalle Mappes.*** **London: Printed by Iohn Norton, [1610]**

Abraham Ortelius (1527–98), of Antwerp, was an antiquarian book and map dealer who became a mapmaker and atlas publisher. Strongly influenced and encouraged by Mercator, Ortelius published his *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* in 1570, making it the first complete large-size modern atlas.

The map displayed is what one could call the "laptop" rather than the "desktop" version of Ortelius. In his large-size atlas, compared with

Mercator's work, Ortelius did not distort the relative sizes of Java and Borneo quite so much, and his labelling of India beyond the Ganges is a little more ambiguous as to whether it reaches the Pacific.

Herman Moll. *Atlas Minor, or a New and Curious Set of Sixty-two Maps, in Which Are Shewn All the Empires, Kingdoms, Countries, States, in all the Known Parts of the Earth.* Dublin: Printed for George Grierson, [1732?]

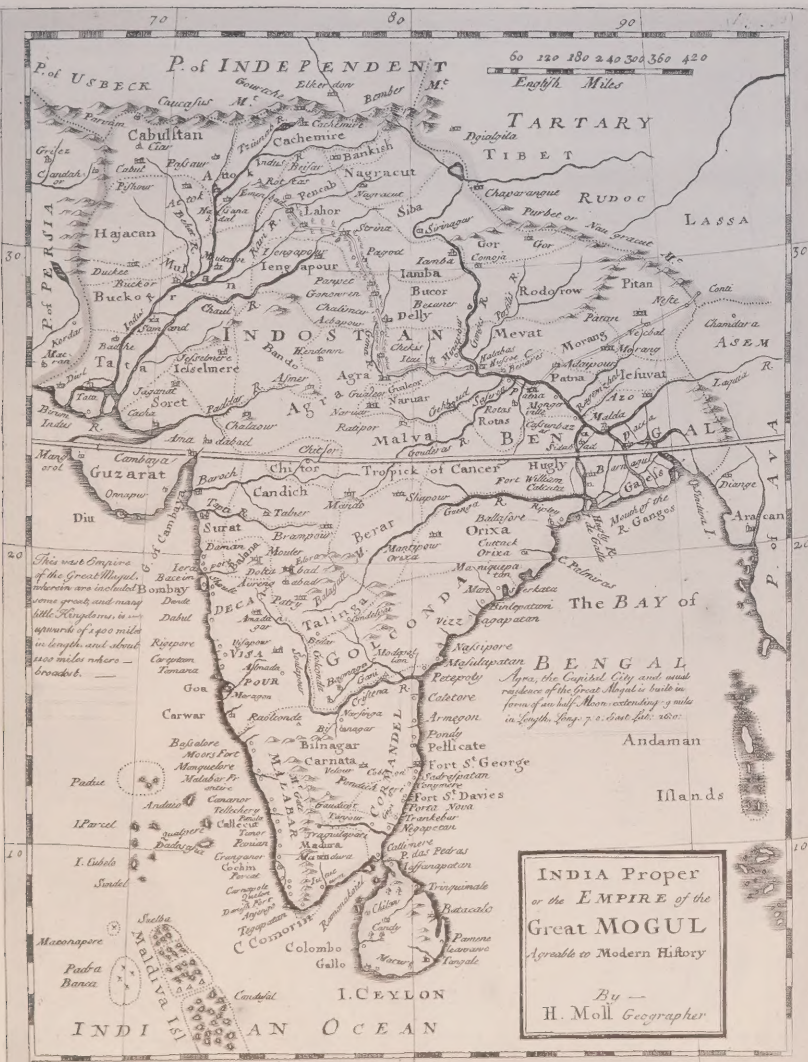
OPPOSITE: *from Herman Moll's* Atlas Minor

By the early eighteenth century, as is evident from Moll's atlas, the coastal features of India were well marked and their relative proportions reasonably accurately described. The inland features of northern India remain less accurate: Srinigar in Kashmir is now shown on the map, but east of the longitude of "Delly". The Deccan as a region is limited to the immediate southeast of Bombay, rather than applying to a wider area.

Farther to the north, the region of Kabul is called Cabulistan, and there is the correct understanding that the Kabul River is a tributary to the Indus River. Tartary and Tibet, and even Assam in the Indian northeast, are still at the stage of geographical representation that one would term speculative. Note, for instance, that half the river drainage from Tibet flows into Kashmir, and the other half into China. Mapmakers of the time were evidently not yet aware that the region of Lhasa in Tibet is drained by the Brahmaputra, which flows eastward and then turns south to the Bay of Bengal.

Matthaeus Seutter. *Atlas Minor Praecipua Orbis Terrarum Imperia, Regna et Provincias, Germaniae Potissimum.*} Aug[ustae] Vind[elicorum] (Augsburg), [174-]

The Asia map, plate 5 in Seutter's atlas, shows a considerable continuation of the Mercator tradition, particularly in the representation of an inland lake as the common source of several of the parallel rivers of Southeast Asia. He has the Philippines recognizably represented, and documents the expanding information about the archipelagos of the western Pacific with, among other things, the "New Philippine Islands". But from Japan north, i.e., the region of Hokkaido, Kamchatka, and the Bering Strait, the map indicates the still very fragmentary nature of European acquaintance with northeastern Asia.



This vast Empire of the Great Mogul, wherein are included some great, and many little Kingdoms, is in a Spurch of 1400 miles in length, and about 1200 miles where broadest.

The Great City Agra, the Capital City, and usual residence of the Great Mogul, is built in form of an half Moon, extending 9 miles in length, long. 79. East. lat. 26.

INDIA Proper
or the EMPIRE of the
Great MOGUL
Agreable to Modern History

By —
H. Moll Geographer

ASIA
Cum omnibus
IMPERIIS PROVINCIIS
STATIBUS ET INSULIS
Correcta et adornata
per
MATTHÆUM SEUTTER
S.C.M. Geogr. Aug. Vind.
OCEANUS SEPTENTRIONALIS
MARE TARTARICUM GLACIALE
MARE PACIFICUM
OCEANUS
MARE INDICUM
MARE PERSICUM
Scalæ
Compagnie Land
NOVA HOLLANDIA
Carpentaria
Staaten Landt
Nova Guinea
Insulæ Philippinæ
Insulæ Moluccæ
Insulæ Sundenses
Insulæ Japonicæ
Insulæ Marianæ
Insulæ Salomonis
Terra Esonis
Terra Jedso
Terra Jesso
Terra Compagnie
Terra de Staten
Terra de Esperito Santo
Terra Australis
Terra Nuyts
Terra de Arnhem
Terra de Diemen
Terra de Witt
Terra de Leeuwin
Terra de Edels
Terra de Nuyts
Terra de Pietersz
Terra de Willems
Terra de Endracht
Terra de Dirck Hartogs
Terra de Eendracht
Terra de Concordia
Terra de Quiros
Terra de Bougainville
Terra de Cook
Terra de Roggeveen
Terra de Davis
Terra de Byron
Terra de Wallis
Terra de Carteret
Terra de Gallego
Terra de Quiros
Terra de Bougainville
Terra de Cook
Terra de Roggeveen
Terra de Davis
Terra de Byron
Terra de Wallis
Terra de Carteret
Terra de Gallego

Guillaume-Thomas-François Raynal. *Atlas de toutes les parties connues du globe terrestre* (final volume of *Histoire philosophique et politique des établissements et du commerce des Européens dans les deux Indes*). Genève: J. L. Pellet, 1782.

This atlas volume accompanies the six-volume history of colonial India and America by Abbé Raynal. First published in 1770, the work established him as a polemical interpreter of history and a contributor to the intellectual ferment leading up to the French Revolution.

The mapping of India in this atlas shows a marked advance in geographical knowledge as compared with the Mercator atlas of 150 years earlier. The direction of the monsoon winds is indicated by arrows, and the geography of the subcontinent's interior reflects a greater fund of information. The subcontinent is divided into northern and southern maps. Both maps are displayed because the Fisher Library possesses two copies of this atlas. One copy came from the library of, and bears the signature of, John Graves Simcoe, the first Lieutenant-Governor of Upper Canada from 1791 to 1796 and founder of York (later Toronto), who must have been aware of Raynal's political views. In 1806, ten years after his time in Ontario, Simcoe was appointed commander-in-chief for India but died before he could take up the post.

OPPOSITE: *from Matthaeus Seutter's* Atlas Minor

William Faden. *Atlas Minimus Universalis; Or, A Geographical Abridgement Ancient and Modern of the Several Parts of the Earth, in Fifty-five Maps*. London: W. Faden, 1798 [i.e., 1804]

This atlas was reprinted over several years with amendments, as maps 20 and 31 in this copy are dated 1804.

Faden's atlas, opened to plate 42 on the Indies, shows that the geographical outlines of the region have largely stabilized in the form in which we still know them. The division into the region of Mughal control (Hindustan) and another region to the south (Deccan) reflects an accurate distinction between the spheres of political and cultural influence in the northern and southern portions of India at the time.

from William Faden's Atlas Minimus Universalis

CASE 2

The Indies and the World of Nature

THERE ARE TWO SENSES of the word "interest" underlying Europe's involvement with the Indies: the exploratory and the exploitative. The sheer curiosity of discovering and describing the exotic may have motivated some, but the profit motive of supplying and selling the exotic certainly motivated others.

From ancient times, the shores of the Indian Ocean were a source of tropical botanical products that could not readily be cultivated in the climate of the Mediterranean or farther north in Europe. Hence there was profit to be made in the transport of goods from one region to another.

In earlier times, and particularly for overland shipment on the backs of animals or in rudimentary carts, the products that were profitable to move over long distances had to have a high value in relation to their bulk or weight. Even in early navigation using small ships, bulk cargoes of low-value material would hardly be profitable. But spices and aromatic extracts amply met the criterion of value in relation to weight.

From different Indian Ocean regions, different botanical products were shipped to the Mediterranean world. In Greek and Roman antiquity, for instance, the highlands of Somalia and the Yemen yielded frankincense and myrrh, and a caravan trade operating the length of western Arabia was a source of prosperity for way stations along its route. At about the time of Christ, sailors from the Greco-Roman world figured out the pattern of the monsoon or seasonal wind patterns between Arabia and India, and stepped up their maritime commerce via the Red Sea. A classical text, *The Periplus of the Erythrean* [i.e., Eritrean or Red] *Sea*, relates the voyage and describes the settlements enroute.

Trade from India to Europe, therefore, flowed via Egypt, or via the Gulf and overland through Syria, for some centuries. But in the Islamic middle ages, this trade passed through Arab- and subsequently Turkish-controlled territories, which meant politico-military interruptions at times, such as during the Crusades, and always the costs of middlemen

and of passage, protection, and safe conduct. The Turkish capture of Constantinople in 1453 symbolized the completion of the power of the Turks as a barrier between Europe and India that had actually been developing over a longer time.

But some people alive in 1453 would still be around four decades later when Portuguese ships sailed into the Indian Ocean, outflanking the Turks. Part of Europe's motive in promoting such navigation was to gain more direct access to the already known trade commodities to be found there.

OPPOSITE: *betel, from Jacob de Bondt's treatise included in Willem Piso's work*

Prominent among the trade goods were the leaves, bark, seeds, and roots of aromatic plants. The "spice trade", it was termed, even if technically one may distinguish between leaves as herbs and seeds as spices. Pepper was one of the most important of these, but cinnamon, nutmeg, and many other familiar spices were included in the commerce.

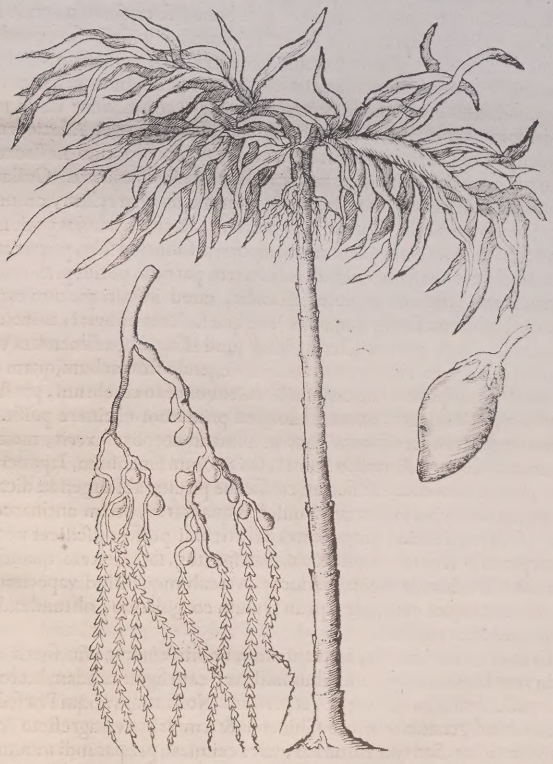
Direct European contact with southern Asia resulted also in an exploratory and descriptive curiosity. Europeans reported, for instance, on the widespread use of the betel nut. The fruit of a variety of palm (the betel palm), this substance is sliced and chewed by a vast population from India through Southeast Asia as far as the Philippines. The shavings of betel, wrapped in the shiny leaves of another plant often termed *paan*, turn the saliva a deep red and stain the mouth and teeth an orange-brown.

With more extended residence in southern Asia, Europeans displayed a botanical and zoological curiosity as well as the initial anthropological one. They observed varieties of plant and animal species, collecting, classifying, and describing. The nineteenth century saw the production of detailed volumes, especially by British in different parts of India, illustrating the plant, insect, and animal life often of a single localized region.

Not to be overlooked are the descriptions of weather and climate. Northern Europeans, accustomed to four seasons all of which have occasional rainfall or snowfall, had to acquaint themselves with a three-season climate, only one in much of India being characterized by rain. The cool dry season runs from about October through February in much of the subcontinent, followed by a hot dry season from March to June. The parched land is then relieved by the warm monsoon rains, which last in many places through September. Local weather phenomena were also described in detail.

REs istæ, de quibus jam acturi sumus, adeo familiari sunt in usu apud omnes Indiæ populos, ut videamur operam velle perdere, si latius de iis agamus, tum quia Ianus Linscotanus expertissimus rerum Indicarum scriptor, de iis satis copiose egit, quem Autorem (ut hoc obiter dicam) immerito multi fluxæ fidei incusant,

NVX FAVTEL, & BEFELE.



cum certe in iis, quæ ipse visu percepit, optima fide egerit. Cæterum de meo hic illud addam, quod vel reliqui scriptores omisere, vel non satis luculente descripsere. Folia, igitur ista, quæ Malaii *Sirii* vocant, Iavani *Betele*, ubi masticantur sine admixta calce, amara sunt, & linguam pungentia, inde addito fructu hoc *Pynang* dicto Iavanis, Arabibus,

García de Orta. *Aromatum, et Simplicium Aliquot Medicamentorum apud Indos Nascentium Historia.* Quarta editio. Antuerpiae: Ex Officina Plantiniana, apud Viduam, & Ioannem Moretum, 1593.

The copy is open to the illustration of cardamom seeds, together with the Latin text on cardamom.

OPPOSITE: *waterspouts, from Jean de Thévenot's* Travels

García de Orta. *Histoire des drogues, espiceries, et de certains médicamens simples, qui naissent e's Indes & en l'Amérique.* Paris, 1619.

From this French translation of García de Orta's handbook, the illustration of ginger root with its above-ground shoots is shown. To many today, only the root, found in the market as fresh ginger, is familiar.

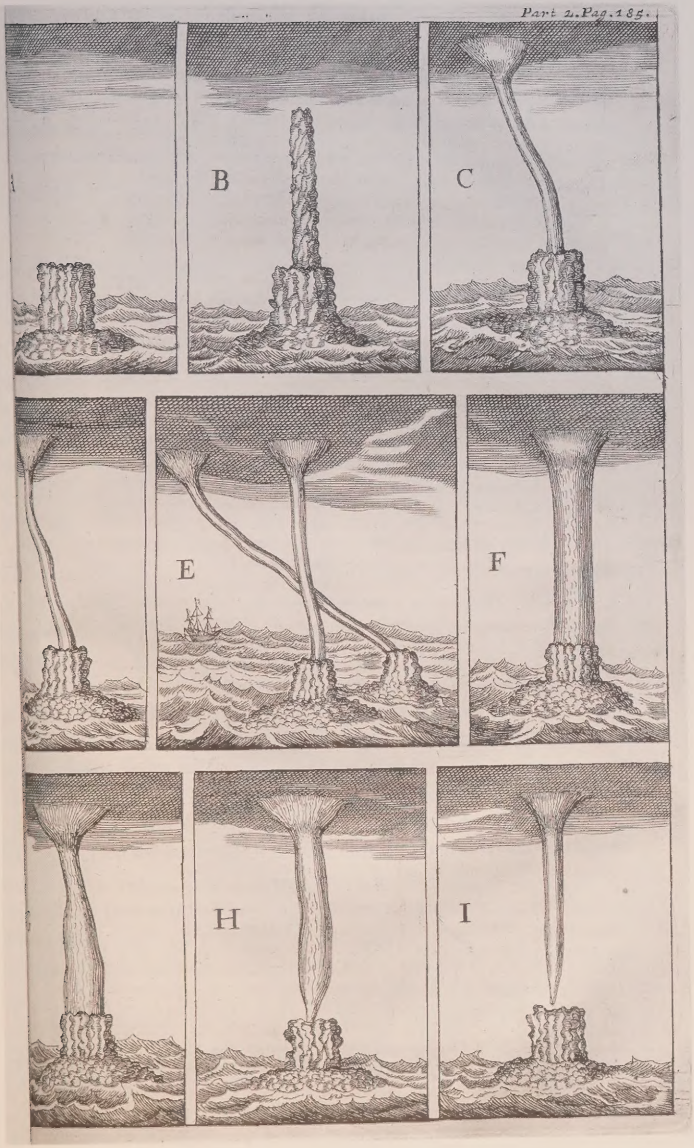
Willem Piso. *Gulielmi Pisonis ... De Indiae Utriusque Re Naturali et Medica Libri Quatuordecim.* Amstelaedami: Apud Ludovicum et Danielem Elzevirios, 1658.

Piso's work includes sections by others, in particular "Iacobi Bontii ... Historiae Naturalis & Medicae Indiae Orientalis Libri Sex", a 160-page treatise on botanical species and products from the East Indies. The open pages present Jacob de Bondt's description and illustration of betel.

Jean de Thévenot. *The Travels of Monsieur de Thévenot into the Levant, In Three Parts, viz. into I. Turkey. II. Persia. III. The East Indies.* Newly Done out of French. London: Printed by H. Clark, for H. Faithorne, J. Adamson, C. Skegnes, and T. Newborough, 1687.

The pages exhibited (Part II, pp. 184–185) describe and illustrate an encounter with waterspouts, that is, tornadoes at sea, in the Indian Ocean. From Thévenot's account:

> Whilst the Tempest tossed our Ship with all imaginable violence, they called me to see a Spout, that was to the Larboard, near Land, and a Musket shot from the Ship ... the Wind turned and changed then into all corners. Whilst I observed it, a second broke out at the side of it, and within a trice a third, by the side of the second. I presently began to say the Gospel of St. *John*, which is said at the end of Mass, that God Almighty might, for the sake of that Gospel, preserve us from those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> Spouts, not that I thought the danger so very great, being they were to the Leeward of us, and in reality, they wrought more admiration than fear in me. Nevertheless there was a great consternation amongst our Company, all Hands were at work, and our *Franks* kept a heavy stir, calling and asking, whether any one had the Gospel of St. *John*; they addressed themselves to me, and I was a saying it; and whilst they prayed me to continue, one of them brought a Knife with a black handle, asking if any body knew how to cut the Spouts.

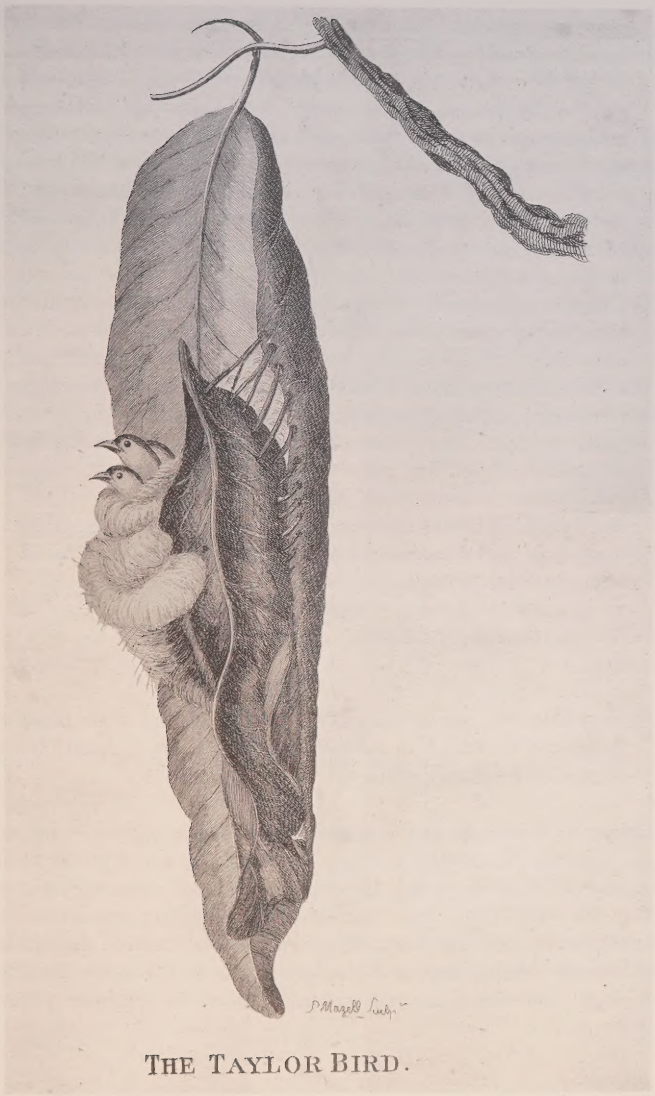
John Lockman. *Travels of the Jesuits, into Various Parts of the World, Particularly China and the East-Indies*. Second edition. Vol. 2. [London]: T. Piety, 1762.

The Spaniard Francis Xavier, one of Ignatius Loyola's initial circle when the Society of Jesus was formed, was sent by King John III of Portugal to evangelize the East Indies. Reaching Goa, on the west coast of India, in 1542, he made that his headquarters, and from there began to make converts to Christianity along the coasts of India, Ceylon, and the Malay Peninsula. He continued to Japan in 1549, and, after his death en route to China, others in the order established themselves there. Through succeeding centuries, Goa remained the principal centre for Roman Catholic missionary activity in India, Southeast Asia, China, and Japan. It remained a Christian enclave, under Portuguese rule, till taken by India in 1961, two centuries after the attrition of the Christian communities established by the Jesuits farther east in Asia.

Notable in the Jesuits' approach to Asia was a scholarly curiosity about its culture, which was coupled with a desire to state the Christian message in indigenous terms. Though criticized by more conservative orders for their assimilationist strategy, the Jesuits enjoyed an avid readership for the cultural reportage in their correspondence.

The illustration shown is of the ginseng plant and its root, used for medicinal purposes in much of Asia. The most highly prized varieties come from the northerly latitudes of Korea, Manchuria, and Mongolia; however, another variety, termed pseudo-ginseng, is found at altitudes in the Himalayas. With the Jesuit sketch done in 1709 is a delightful description of ginseng's medicinal properties:

> The most skilful Physicians in *China* have writ whole Volumes concerning the Properties of this Plant. 'Tis introduced into most of the Medicines administered by them to Persons of Distinction, it being of



from Thomas Pennant's Indian Zoology

too high a Price for the common People. The *Chineze* declare it to be a sovereign Remedy, where Persons are brought very low by excessive Fatigue either of Mind or Body. They add, that it dissolves Flegm; cures the Pleurisy, and any Weakness upon the Lungs; stops Vomitings; strengthens the Orifice of the Stomach and creates an Appetite: It likewise dispels the Spleen and Vapours; relieves in Shortness of Breath, by strengthening the Stomach; gives Vigour to the animal Spirits, and produces *Lympha* in the Blood. Lastly, it is of Use against Vertigos and Dizziness of Sight, and prolongs the Life of old Men.

Thomas Pennant. *Indian Zoology*. Second edition. London: Printed by Henry Hughs, for Robert Faulder, 1790 [i.e., 1791]

The Tailor Bird is so named because it picks up or fashions strands of cotton, pierces a pair of leaves hanging on a tree, and stitches them together to make a nest. Pennant in his description credits the Tailor Bird (spelled Taylor Bird under the illustration) with astuteness in choosing leaves located far from predators:

> Had Providence left the feathered tribe unendowed with any particular instinct, the birds of the torrid zone would have built their nests in the same unguarded manner as those of *Europe*; but there the lesser species, having a certain prescience of the dangers that surround them, and of their own weakness, suspend their nests at the extreme branches of the trees.

Edward Donovan. *An Epitome of the Natural History of the Insects of India, and the Islands in the Indian Seas*. London: Printed for the Author by T. Bensley, 1800.

Donovan's work is opened to an illustration and description of *Fulgora pyrorhynchus*, the red-tipped fire fly. The insect has a dark purple trunk sprinkled with white phosphoric spots, and is tipped with a scarlet apex. Donovan writes that it "may be considered as a striking example of the entomological riches of a country hitherto scarcely known, the *interior of Indostan*." He says that he "has sought in vain for this species in other cabinets of exotic insects, and ventures to deem his specimen *unique*" (italics his).

Robert Wight. ***Spicilegium Neilgherrense, or, A Selection of Neilgherry Plants, Drawn and Coloured from Nature.*** **Vol. 1. Madras: Printed for the author, and sold by Franck, [1851]**

South of the Indus and Ganges plains, the highest elevations of land in India are found in the mountains to the southwest of Madras and south of Mysore, closer to the western or Malabar coast. Known as the Nilgiri Hills (Nilgiri means "Blue Mountain"), they rise 2,500 m (8,000 ft) above sea level. The variety of temperature zones through which one passes makes for a botanical diversity; and the cool uplands were also a resort (and a setting for boarding schools) favoured by the resident British in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as a welcome change from the humid tropics close to sea level. The combination of nature and leisure was conducive to the investigation of plant life. Shown in this exhibition is the description and illustration of the flower *Drosera Burmanni* in volume 1.

Hindu Faith and Practice

Ask anyone to name the half dozen principal religious traditions in the world today, and "Hinduism" is almost certain to be on the list. Between 800,000 and 1 billion people in the world are considered Hindus. That figure includes not just the majority of the population of India, but also a Hindu diaspora distributed almost everywhere in the English-speaking world, from Canada to the Caribbean, to Britain and South Africa, to Australia and Fiji.

The Hindu tradition is one of the world's oldest, traceable back over three thousand years to India's Dravidian and Aryan roots. In fact, some students of its ancient texts, such as the nineteenth-century German Sanskritist, Friedrich Max Müller, proceeded as though the hymn collections of the Vedas were the world's oldest religious literature and, therefore, a clue to both the origin and the nature of religion in general. (Mesopotamian and Egyptian writing, it turned out, came earlier.)

With the tradition so old, it may surprise some that its name is quite recent. It came into general use only in the nineteenth century, under British rule in India. From its introduction, it referred to the religious life – the almost bewilderingly varied religious life – of people called Hindus. In the land, that meant the religion of practically everybody not identifiable as a Muslim.

Two questions arise. First, what, if anything, did "Hindu" mean before it referred to a religious identity? And second, how did people refer to Indian religion before they called it "Hinduism"?

The answer to the first is that "Hindu" primarily denoted a regional identity. As already indicated, the name Hind was Persian for India. (Likewise, "Hindustan" was its northern region, in the Indus-Ganges plain, where Persian contact and rule was most extensive.) The Persian-speaking Muslims referred to the local population as Hindu. In their usage, the non-Muslim religious identity was generally implicit more than explicit. After the British established themselves, and had the word

"Indian" available in English for the population, the word "Hindu" could be borrowed for more explicitly religious applications. Such are found in the eighteenth century, but the term "Hinduism", for the Hindus' religiosity understood as part of a comprehensive system, came into wide use only during the nineteenth.

To answer the second question, one goes back to a variety of usages in the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature. Three terms stand out. There were, first of all, the "Brahmins", the priestly class evident among India's non-Muslim population. They were the principal practitioners of the rituals that Europeans observed; hence treatises described the religion of the Brahmins, but could include in the term all of the population that we know as Hindu. Next, there were the "Banians". This term crops up in the writings of Europeans, after their arrival on India's west coast, as it is the Gujarati term for a population or class of traders, with whom the Europeans had extensive contact. Arabs sailing the Indian Ocean had picked it up as well. Third, there were the "Gentoos". This term we owe to the Portuguese, who already in the sixteenth century distinguished between Muslims, to whom they referred as Moros (Moors), and others, whom they termed Gentios (gentiles).

In its early centuries before Constantine, as a minority religion in the Roman Empire, Christianity established the idea of boundaried, exclusive membership for itself. You were either in, or not in, the community, and if a Christian, you were not a member of some other religious community also. Moreover, to get in, you had to make a profession of belief in certain teachings. Hence Christians have tended to construe other communities as boundaried, and defined by specific faith-affirmations. This worked well enough in Christendom's medieval contact with Islam, since Islam, as it happens, defined itself along comparable lines. It was much less practicable in early modern contact with India.

When Europeans encountered India, they did not at first command the languages of the Indian religious texts, nor encounter the more arcane debates of Indian philosophy. What struck them first was the variety of religious practices, and the massive force of ritual and custom, in Indian life. Accustomed to describing religion mainly in terms of what people believed, they now had to report what people did. The items exhibited in this case illustrate some of the more salient details of Hindu practice, as it met the eye of European observation and description.

Three kinds of practice in particular engaged the European curiosity. First, there was asceticism. Holy men undertook feats of endurance and self-mortification that both fascinated and scandalized the European observers. The principle of their activity, subordinating the physical body to the disciplines of the mind and spirit, was hardly new to a Europe that had known its own asceticism, but some of the specific techniques were novel and evoked great fascination, sometimes expressed as criticism.

OPPOSITE: *from Abraham Rogerius's* La Porte ouverte

Second, there was the stratification of Indian society. This is commonly referred to as "caste", and denotes the four broad classes that have endured for three millennia since the time of the Aryan invasion. There were countless sub-groups, also hereditary, designated by a different word, that did shift over time but have been associated in the minds of many with the enduring caste system. The idea that one is destined by birth to a particular place in society may well be easier to criticize from without than from within. Europeans, accustomed to hereditary privilege at home, nonetheless denounced its manifestations in India. And Indian reformers in time took up the criticism, campaigning for the outlawing of caste restrictions.

A third practice that caught Europe's attention was the suicide of widows at their husbands' funeral pyres, termed suttee. The word *sati* is a feminine grammatical form meaning "faithful" or "true". Applied to this practice, it refers to the devotion or piety of the woman who jumps alive to join her late husband as the flames are kindled to cremate his body. Whether an individual widow's action was propelled by inner strength or by outward social convention was an obvious topic for reflection by European observers; and it is apparent that Indian reformers, who in time also argued for the outlawing of *sati*, thought along parallel lines.

Abraham Rogerius. *La Porte ouverte, pour parvenir à la connoissance du paganisme caché. Ou la vraye représentation de la vie, des moeurs, de la religion, & du service divin des Bramines, qui demeurent sur les costes de Chormandel, & aux pays circoncoisins*. Amsterdam: Chez Jean Schipper, 1670.

Abraham Rogerius was a missionary from the Netherlands who spent the decade 1630–1640 on the Coromandel coast, a Tamil region on the east coast of India. He was able to converse in Portuguese with a

LA PORTE
OUVERTE
Pour parvenir
à la connoissance
du
PAGANISME CACHÉ.
A AMSTERDAM,
Chez JEAN SCHIPPER, 1670.

Brahmin Hindu from Goa, and they collaborated on a translation from the seventh-century Sanskrit poet Bhartrhari, first into Portuguese by the Brahmin and then into Dutch by Rogerius. This was in fact the first rendering of a Sanskrit work into a Western language in the modern era.

The Dutch work was published in 1651 by Rogerius's widow, under the title *De Open Deure tot het Verborgen Heydendom*, and reflected an advance in European understanding of Hindu thought beyond the denunciations of it as pagan in Jesuit writing of the previous century. Rogerius's work saw Hindu thought as having rational content, and (from a Christian theological point of view) therefore, being as worthy of serious study as the respected writing of pagan philosophers in Greco-Roman antiquity. At the same time, he still recoiled from what he saw as grotesque in the forms of Hindu deities.

Alarming to Europeans was the custom of *sati*. Rogerius's French edition has an illustrated title page in which a woman is leaping onto a funeral pyre, and a devil figure looks on from above. More than any other feature of Hindu practice, *sati* was demonic in European eyes.

Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des peuples idolâtres représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picard, avec une explication historique, & quelques dissertations curieuses. Vol. 1, part 1. Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard, 1723. (Photocopy of an illustration from the volume displayed in Case 5.)

The illustration of *sati* in Picard's work has the widow leaping onto the fire fully dressed. A drummer is prominent in the left foreground, and there is a considerable degree of physical movement among a score of other figures present, suggesting that group excitement was a factor in encouraging or supporting the self-sacrifice on the part of the widow.

The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World, Together with Historical Annotations and Several Curious Discourses. Written Originally in French and Illustrated with a Large Number of Folio Copper Plates ... Designed by Mr. Bernard Picart ... Faithfully Translated into English by a Gentleman Sometime Since of St. John's College in Oxford. Vol. 3. London: Printed by W. Jackson, for Claude Du Bosc, 1733–39.

Four panels appear in the full-page engraving in this volume of the English edition, which gives the illustrator's name as Picart rather than Picard as in the French edition. The four panels each illustrate a Hindu ascetical practice, and the ascetics are described in the captions as Brahmins. One ascetic is wearing a twenty-four-pound iron collar until such time as he will have received enough alms to build a hospital. Another swings for half an hour upside down over a fire, his feet suspended by ropes from a high bar, stoking the fire as he does so. A third sits under a tree, his foot chained to its tree trunk, resolving to remain there for life. In the fourth panel, a pair described as yogis are dragging heavy metal chains attached to their ankles and carried over their shoulders. The caption of this fourth illustration describes them as Bramins of the family of Shudras; since Brahmins and Shudras are two different castes, one has evidence here of the general meaning of the term "Brahmin" in European usage, as designating what we term Hindu, rather than necessarily only the priestly caste.

Quintin Craufurd. *Sketches Chiefly Relating to the History, Religion, Learning, and Manners of the Hindoos. With a Concise Account of the Present State of the Native Powers of Hindostan*. London: T. Cadell, 1790.

The volume by Craufurd is a prose description, without pictorial illustrations. It is opened to the description of the ritual of *sati*, a recurring theme. Elsewhere in the volume are several pages describing the Sikhs, constituting one of the more substantial early descriptions of them in English. Those pages give evidence that the Sikhs were being noticed by outsiders before the time of their most illustrious independent ruler, Maharaja Ranjit Singh, and that British travel and description was penetrating more thoroughly inland.

Thomas Maurice. *Indian Antiquities, or, Dissertations, Relative to the Ancient Geographical Divisions, the Pure System of Primeval Theology, the Grand Code of Civil Laws, the Original Form of Government, and the Various and Profound Literature of Hindostan; Compared, Throughout, with the Religion, Laws, Government, and Literature of Persia, Egypt, and Greece; the Whole Intended as Introductory to, and Illustrative of, the History of Hindostan*. London: Printed for the author, and sold by P. Elmsley, W. Richardson, and by the booksellers of Oxford and Cambridge, [1793]

from Thomas Maurice's Indian Antiquities

Barlow. fculp.

CALLEE, *or the* BLACK GODDESS; *to whom* HUMAN SACRIFICES *were anciently offered in Hindostan*

The volume reflects the attempt to describe the new by its comparison with the already known. The deities and the practices of the Hindu tradition are being compared by Europeans with the deities and practices the ancients in the Mediterranean world.

The volume is opened to an illustration of the goddess Kali, represented as black.

William Tennant. *Indian Recreations, Consisting Chiefly of Strictures on the Domestic and Rural Economy of the Mahomedans & Hindoos.* Second edition. Vol. 1. London: Printed by C. Stewart, Edinburgh, for Longman, Hurst, Rees, and Orme, London, and John Anderson, Edinburgh, 1804.

This volume is opened to an illustration of an ascetic, captioned as a "penitent": the classic type of a yogi reposing on a bed of nails. The reason that nails in such beds do not puncture the skin is that they are arrayed close enough together; in this artist's representation, however, the spacing may be too far apart to be tolerated.

Maria Callcott. *Letters on India.* London: Printed for Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme and Brown, and A. Constable and Co., Edinburgh, 1814.

The Hindu deity Ganesha, represented with a body in human form but the head of an elephant, is drawn by Maria Graham (as her name appears on the title page) and captioned as the "god of letters". A more appropriate candidate as the divine patron of learning for Hindus might be the goddess Sarasvati. Ganesha, however, is a very popular deity figure, and many pay respect to him before undertaking any important enterprise, which could include literary efforts.

Fanny Parks. *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque.* Vol. 1. London: Pelham Richardson, 1850.

Soon after her marriage in 1822 to Charles Crawford Parks, an employee of the East India Company, Fanny Parks sailed with him for India, and remained there for twenty-four years. Most of the time, her husband was stationed as Collector of Customs in Allahabad, in central northern India; but Fanny travelled extensively around the country and kept a

diary for the entire period of her stay. Since she reached places not covered in the accounts of other travellers, and since she had a probing curiosity and keen powers of observation, her two-volume travel diary, published after her return to England, has become something of a classic.

Mrs. Parks had some skill at drawing, and the volumes are illustrated with her own sketches. She signed them, and the title page of her book, with her name written in the Arabic script used for Persian and also Urdu by the Muslims of northern India.

In Calcutta, only four months after her arrival, Mrs. Parks witnessed an ascetic practice known as the Churuk Puja. In it, devotees of the goddess Kali are suspended by ropes from the ends of transverse bamboo poles affixed horizontally across the tops of vertical poles that people on the ground rotate. The ropes are attached to the suspended ascetics by hooks that pierce the flesh of their chest or shoulders. Mrs. Parks combines emotion and analysis in her description:

> The other day, hearing it was a Burra Din, (day of festival in honour of the goddess Kālee, whose temple is about a mile and a half from Calcutta,) I drove down in the evening to Kālee Ghaut, where, had not the novelty of the scene excited my curiosity, disgust would have made me sick. Thousands of people were on the road, dressed in all their gayest attire, to do honour to the festival of the Churuk Pooja, the swinging by hooks … Some men swing with four hooks in the back and four on the chest without any cloth, eight hooks being considered sufficient to support the body. The man I saw swinging looked very wild, from the quantity of opium and bengh he had taken to deaden the sense of pain. Bengh is an intoxicating liquor, which is prepared with the leaves of the Gánja plant (*Canabis Indica*).
>
> Hindoos of the lower castes are very fond of this amusement, accidental deaths occasioned by it are reckoned about three per cent. Sometimes four men swing together for half an hour; some in penance for their own sins; some for those of others, richer men, who reward their deputies and thus do penance by proxy.

CASE 4

Diversity of Religion in India

ISLAM CAME GRADUALLY to India. Within the first century after Muhammad, the Umayyads of Damascus, the first major Muslim power, swept across North Africa to Spain and also eastward across Iran as far as Sind, the plain of the Indus River. The pretext for the first campaign into India was an allegation of mistreatment of Muslim traders.

The Muslim conquest of India was a gradual process, over several centuries, rather than the result of one single campaign. In the tenth century, for instance, Muslim rule was being consolidated in Iran and Central Asia, and Ghazni in what is now Afghanistan became the base for some powerful sultans. Early in the eleventh century, their dynasty, known as the Ghaznavids, extended control into northwestern India through the Khyber Pass (a route across the last mountain barrier, avoiding impassable gorges of the Kabul River). By the early thirteenth century, at about the time of the Magna Carta in England, a sultanate was formed in Delhi. Local Muslim régimes soon followed in Bengal to the east, Malwa toward India's west coast, and the Deccan interior farther south.

The undisputed flowering of Muslim rule came in northern India, in the sixteenth through nineteenth centuries, with the Mughal dynasty. The name is from the same origin as "Mongol", since these rulers counted among their ancestors the Mongols who had swept through Central Asia and the Middle East in the thirteenth century. But these earlier Mongols and the Indian Mughals are a study in contrasts. The Mongols, had wiped out what stood in their way. But the Mughals, militarily strong but outnumbered demographically by the vast non-Muslim population of India, had to pursue policies and strategies of accommodation with the subject population.

As indicated already, India was novel in Islamic history in that for the first time an indigenous population was not converted wholesale to Islam. The Muslim rulers had to function as a minority, controlling an alien population as best they could. At the same time, India experienced

a new sense of religious identities as represented by boundaried communities. One was unmistakably either a Muslim or one was not. This was evident in daily life in what one ate, since Muslims avoided pork and ate beef, in a land where reverence for the cow meant strict avoidance of beef. It was evident in doctrine and ritual too, since Islam made profession of faith a qualification for entry into the community and forbade participation by its people in the rituals and devotions of others. However much elements and motifs from previous Indian religion might be blended or assimilated one with another, the Islamic presence in India was like oil and water: they did not mix.

At the popular level, there was a development afoot that served to bridge the theological and cultural distance between Muslims and others. A Hindu devotional emphasis known as *bhakti*, that is, loving devotion to the deity, expressed faith not so much in terms of brahmin ritual and ascetical practices as in the poetic imagery of love. Not in Sanskrit but in vernacular regional languages, first in southern India but, by the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, throughout the subcontinent, devotees sang and wrote of the feeling of bliss that accompanies one's total commitment or surrender to the deity. Hindu *bhakti* was addressed especially to the god Vishnu, who by this time had emerged along with Shiva as the principal recipient of popular devotion.

Meanwhile, Islam had experienced an important devotional movement as well. It began as an ascetic protest against the lavish lifestyle of the early caliphs in capitals like Damascus and Baghdad, where Arabian Muslims found the big-city opulence of the newly conquered empire a corrupting influence. As ascetics reflected on the spiritual "highs" they experienced, it developed into a cultivation of the techniques, imagery, and vocabulary of immersion in God. We know the movement as Sufism (from the Arabic word *suf* for the raw wool garments the early ascetics wore), or Islamic mysticism (mysticism being the cultivation of an intense experience of oneness with the divine).

In northern India, *bhakti* Hindus and Sufi Muslims began to sense that they were engaged in very similar quests, perhaps the same one. Devotional spirituality began to bridge the boundaries of religious communities. In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries this was asserted by Hindus such as Kabir, Muslims such as Dadu, and by a spiritual teacher, Nanak, whose followers were termed Sikhs, that is, disciples. Nanak's successors, ironically, eventually sought to define their movement as yet another separate and boundaried community, and Sikhs have struggled in more recent years for public recognition of it as such.

Among the Mughal emperors, history acknowledges as "great" the emperor Akbar (ruled 1556–1605). Aware of the diversity of faiths among his subjects, Akbar sought to bring them together. His was more than an administrative public-relations move; Akbar was a genuine religious seeker. In a hall at his capital he conducted what were essentially seminars in the comparative study of religion. He invited representatives of different communities, including Portuguese clergy from Goa and Zoroastrian priests from Gujarat on the west coast, and pursued discussions of faith with them long into the night. He eventually proclaimed a synthesizing *Din-i-ilahi* or "Divine Faith", which was repudiated by the more orthodox among his Muslim advisers and did not long outlast him.

What Akbar did was to compare and synthesize. And comparison is what Europeans engaged in too. Europeans in India were not on the whole seeking to discover Islam; they already had a medieval tradition of disputation with it, from the Mediterranean world. But Europeans were seeking to come to terms with the indigenous religion of Hindus. To guide them in this enterprise, they placed what they found into frames of reference already established in Europe. For example, the Bible and the Greek and Latin classical literature had furnished descriptions of various pagan practices. These could be more amplified now by comparison with reports of Indian religious activity, each side illuminating the other.

Indeed, Europe's categorization of the world of religion had been fourfold: Christian, Jewish, Muslim, and pagan. This last included Greek and Roman religion and the religious patterns of ancient Israel's neighbours, all known through biblical and classical literature. It included also the surviving pre-Christian practices of northern Europe. But now, the category "pagan" was being expanded dramatically, through the description of newly encountered populations both in Asia and the Americas. Handbooks and encyclopedias continued this division as late as the middle of the nineteenth century. Only then were the categories rethought, as lists of between six and a dozen "great" or "living" or "world" religions began finally to emerge.

Henry Lord. "The Religion of the Persees", in *A Collection of Voyages and Travels, Some Now First Printed from Original Manuscripts, Others Now First Published in English.* Third edition. London: Printed by assignment from Messrs. Churchill, for Henry Lintot and John Osborn ..., 1746. Vol. 6, pp. 342–356.

The Parsis maintain the ancient Zoroastrian faith of Iran, having brought it to western India some time after the Muslim conquest of Iran. They settled in villages especially in coastal Gujarat, and were a visible element in ports, such as Surat, where Europeans traded. Henry Lord's description is one of the more important early European accounts of their traditions and practices.

de La Créquinière. *The Agreement of the Customs of the East-Indians with Those of the Jews, and Other Ancient People.* London: W. Davis, 1705.

The Bible and classical literature provided a framework for Europeans to assimilate what they were learning about India and the Indies, but it also shed light on passages in the Bible that were difficult to understand or explain. This volume describes and illustrates snake worship in India, for example, and compares it with references to serpents in the Bible. A rationalist attitude toward Christendom's scripture is evident; indeed, the book was translated from French by the well-known seventeenth-century freethinker John Toland, who was interested in raising questions about the content and reliability of the Bible.

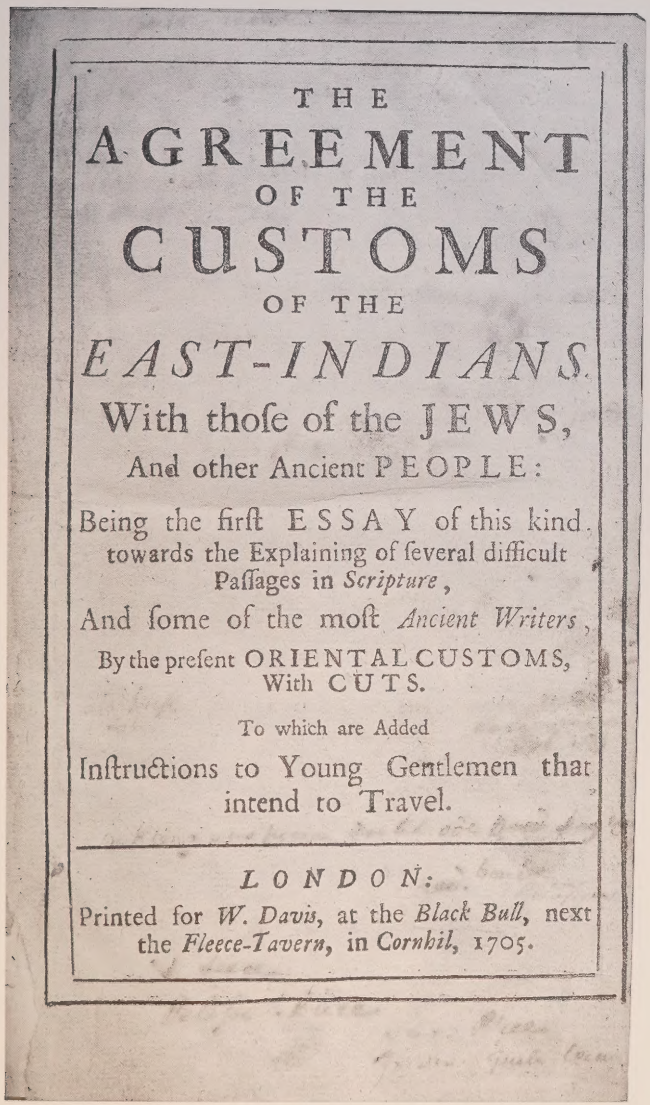
John Lockman. *Travels of the Jesuits, into Various Parts of the World, Particularly China and the East-Indies.* Second edition. Vol. 1. [London] T. Piety, 1762.

The volume exhibited is opened to a description of the work of the Spanish Jesuit Francis Xavier, a pioneer Roman Catholic missionary to Asia.

Thomas Maurice. *The History of Hindostan: its Arts, and its Sciences, as Connected with the History of the Other Great Empires of Asia, during the Most Ancient Periods of the World.* Second edition. Vol. 1. London: Printed for W. Bulmer and W. Nicol ..., and sold by F.C. and J. Rivington ..., 1819–20.

The volume exhibited is opened to an illustration of snake worship.

Digby Mackworth. *Diary of a Tour Through Southern India, Egypt, and Palestine, in the Years 1821 and 1822.* London: Messrs. J. Hatchard and Son, 1823.



THE
AGREEMENT
OF THE
CUSTOMS
OF THE
EAST-INDIANS,
With thoſe of the JEWS,
And other Ancient PEOPLE:

Being the firſt ESSAY of this kind, towards the Explaining of ſeveral difficult Paſſages in *Scripture*,
And ſome of the moſt *Ancient Writers*,
By the preſent ORIENTAL CUSTOMS, With CUTS.

To which are Added
Inſtructions to Young Gentlemen that intend to Travel.

LONDON:
Printed for *W. Davis*, at the *Black Bull*, next the *Fleece-Tavern*, in *Cornhil*, 1705.

the title page of de La Créquinière's Agreement

a depiction of snake worship in
de La Créquinière's Agreement

Among the distinct religious minorities of India are the Jews of its western coast. Besides an isolated group just south of Bombay, there is the Jewish population of Cochin, on the southwest or Malabar coast. Some of them have claimed that their ancestors came to India more than two thousand years ago, as remnants of the ten northern "lost" tribes of Israel, scattered by the Assyrians after their invasion in 722 BC. Documented by earlier European and Muslim travel accounts, the Cochin community likely received some Jewish refugees after their expulsion from Spain in 1492. The volume is opened to Mackworth's description of his visit to Cochin.

Robert M. Grindlay. ***Scenery, Costumes and Architecture, Chiefly on the Western Side of India.*** **London: Smith, Elder, 1830.**

The city of Aurangabad, inland east of Bombay, had an important Muslim presence in the Mughal era. The nineteenth-century view of Aurangabad (reproduced on the cover of this catalogue) from the ruins of Emperor Aurangzeb's palace, was drawn by W. Purser and engraved by C. F. Hunt from a sketch by Captain Grindlay. In it, the Muslim architectural idiom we associate with the Taj Mahal is evident in the centre of the picture. The building is not Shah Jehan's Taj Mahal, which is in Agra. Aurangzeb, Shah Jehan's son, built Bibi-ka Maqbara, the mausoleum in Aurangabad for his wife, decades later. It is smaller than, and by general consent, less well proportioned than, the Taj. It shares, however, the same design concept, of a central domed structure flanked by four minarets.

The Illustration Tradition

"Objectivity", we have been taught in schools, is a desirable goal. Whether it is fully obtainable, however, is debatable. After all, we make selective decisions whenever we describe or depict anything. In words, every description is a limited selection from among the many details that might have been reported. In pictures, every image can be thought of as an alternative to some other subject or angle of representation or resolution of detail that has not been shown.

Our collective memory has been vastly aided, in the past century and a half, by the invention of photography. We in the modern West take it so much for granted that we may not often try to imagine how people went about picturing things before there were cameras. But there are some clues. Think, for instance, of the way in which Italian Renaissance artists depicted scenes from the Bible's narratives. Not only did they clothe their figures in European dress, but beyond the windows in the paintings one could view an Italian countryside. Nobody had photos of Palestine then. When they eventually did, after the mid-nineteenth century, Sunday-school illustrations began to show a more Middle Eastern landscape and to represent the events of the Bible in Palestinian village architecture and current local costume.

This display explores how one scene from Hindu narrative and two characteristic architectural structures of the Parsis were envisioned by European illustrators.

The Parsis of India adhere to Zoroastrianism, which was the national religion of Iran prior to the Muslim conquest. It survived to some extent in isolated villages in central Iran, but primarily among a population that migrated to the western coast of India. Their name, Parsis, means "Persians" and refers to their perceived origin. In western India, they built temples to contain their sacred fires, following simple local architectural patterns and techniques. But after 1850, the architectural and iconographic styles of Persepolis, the capital of the ancient Persians of the sixth through fourth centuries BC, came to be available in detail

through photography. The Parsis of Bombay, who were becoming wealthy, switched to Persepolis column styles and decorative motifs for the renovation and expansion of their fire temples.

Prior to photography, artists working in Europe on illustrations of India had much less to go on: some first-hand sketches from travellers, some verbal descriptions, and finally also their imagination. Once engraved and circulated, the published images of Indian scenes dictated the depiction in subsequent ones.

Particularly influential in establishing images of India, as well as of the Western Hemisphere, were the engravings by Bernard Picard (or Picart) that accompanied a large multi-volume compendium of descriptions of the religious ceremonies and customs of the known world. First published in French in Amsterdam in the 1720s, the texts were brought out in English in London a decade later. The captions in the engravings are bilingual, suggesting that the use of the printing plates for a market in both languages was envisioned from the start. Three drawings are selected: a representation of the Hindu god Vishnu, a Parsi (Zoroastrian) fire temple, and Parsi "towers of silence" for exposure of dead bodies to birds of prey. In each instance, paired with the Picard drawing is a later re-drawing, clearly derivative from it, in another publication.

Cérémonies et coutumes religieuses des peuples idolâtres représentées par des figures dessinées de la main de Bernard Picard, avec une explication historique, & quelques dissertations curieuses. **Vol. 1, part 1. Amsterdam: J. F. Bernard, 1723.**

Although Vishnu did not figure importantly among the gods of the Vedas in earlier strata of the Hindu tradition, for the past two thousand years he has been the supreme deity in the popular devotion of many. Most Hindus today focus their devotion centrally on Vishnu, or on Shiva, or on the great Goddess who has several manifestations including Kali. Vishnu likewise has a number of manifestations, and the doctrine developed over time that Vishnu has appeared in the world in a series of *avatara*s or "descents". Thus devotion to various divine figures – Rama, for example, and even Siddhartha, the Buddha – can be perceived as having a unity within its diversity.

In the illustrations for the volumes on ceremonies and customs, Bernard Picart produced a series showing the nine incarnations of Vishnu. Picart's depiction has Vishnu with multiple arms like the

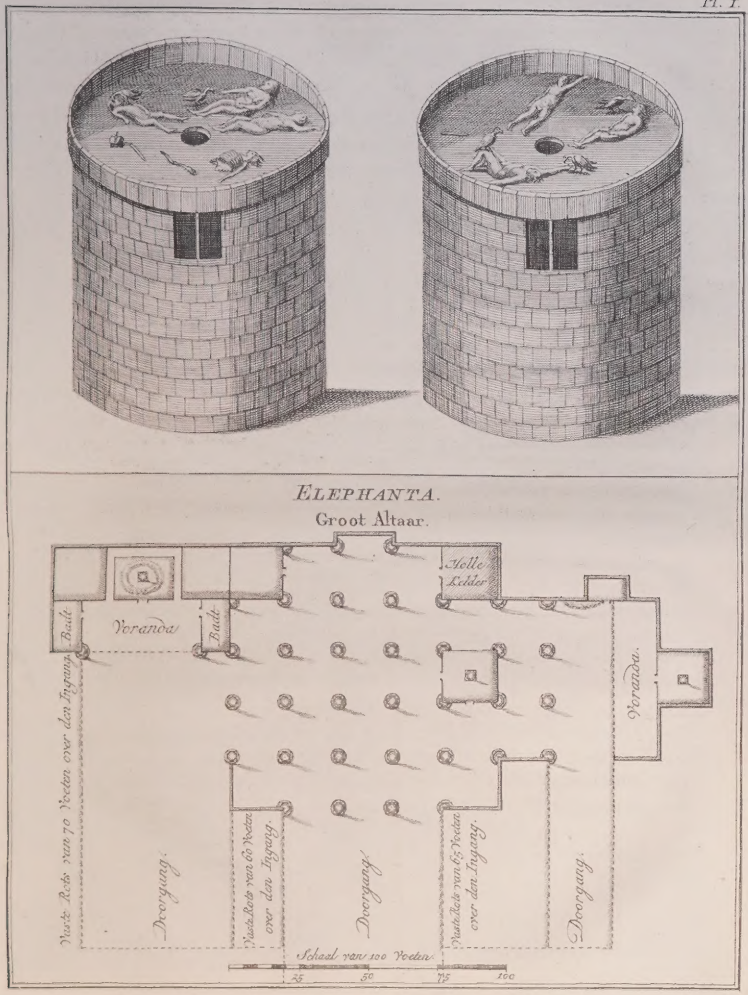
spokes of a wheel, in a manner not representative of most Indian sculpture or painting of Vishnu. It may well be that Picart was confused by descriptions of the dancing figure of Shiva, with four arms and a circle of lamps.

The Ceremonies and Religious Customs of the Various Nations of the Known World, Together with Historical Annotations and Several Curious Discourses. Written Originally in French and Illustrated with a Large Number of Folio Copper Plates ... Designed by Mr. Bernard Picart ... Faithfully Translated into English by a Gentleman Sometime Since of St. John's College in Oxford. Vol. 4. London: Printed by W. Jackson, for Claude Du Bosc, 1733–39.

A plate in this volume of Picart has illustrations of the two most striking architectural features of the Parsi Zoroastrians: the fire temple and the *dakhma* or "tower of silence". These structures as drawn are products of the European imagination, based to some extent on verbal description but bearing little resemblance to anything that can be photographed.

The *dakhma* is a cylindrical round walled tower, open to the sky, with three concentric rings of stone slabs and a central pit or well. Within it, the bodies of Zoroastrian dead are left naked and uncovered by the corpse-bearers, as food for birds of prey. The European illustrator has the round shape correctly, but the inner platform of stone slabs is too high within the structure. And there are separate pictures of *dakhma*s, as the typical Zoroastrian settlement used only one at a time; a new dakhma would be built when the central well of the old one was filled with the sun-bleached bones.

The fire temple is a creation straight from the illustrator's imagination. Prior to some modern architectural efforts in the twentieth century, Zoroastrian fire temples were rectangular without exception. In India, they generally had sloping red tile roofs, much like traditional Spanish architecture. A single tower or apex in the roof was provided with vents for the smoke to escape, since a fire temple was built to contain one main fire, burning in a large metal urn. The idea of a round building may be a transfer from the *dakhma*s, which were indeed round; or it may come from having seen round buildings in Europe.



Parsi dakhmas *and the plan of a Hindu temple in Ives's* Reize

Thomas Maurice. *Indian Antiquities, or, Dissertations, Relative to the Ancient Geographical Divisions, the Pure System of Primeval Theology, the Grand Code of Civil Laws, the Original Form of Government, and the Various and Profound Literature, of Hindostan*. London: Printed for the author, and sold by P. Elmsley, W. Richardson, and by the booksellers of Oxford and Cambridge, [1793] Photocopy of an illustration of a tower of silence, from the volume exhibited in Case 3.

OPPOSITE:
from Thomas Maurice's History of Hindostan

Seventy years after the French and sixty years after the English editions of Picart, the round fire temple of his imagination continues to be depicted in the literature on India. The drawing has been copied, but redrawn, as is evident from details such as the sky in the background.

Thomas Maurice. *The History of Hindostan: its Arts, and its Sciences, as Connected with the History of the Other Great Empires of Asia, During the Most Ancient Periods of the World*. Second edition. Vol. 2. London: Printed for W. Bulmer and W. Nicol ..., and sold by F.C. and J. Rivington ..., 1819–20.

Nearly a hundred years after Picart, his series of illustrations of the *avatara*s of Vishnu is copied, but redrawn.

Edward Ives. *Reize naar Oost-Indië en Persië, en de Daar Omliggende Landen; Ondernomen langs een' Ogewoonen Weg*. Vol. 1. Amsterdam: De Compagnie, 1779.

This Dutch publication of Edward Ives's travels in the East Indies, Persia, and adjoining lands has an illustration of *dakhma*s that is clearly dependent on Picart's. But while Picart had two separate views of active *dakhma*s, Ives's illustrator has combined them into one view so that two active *dakhma*s are now side by side. In copying from a printed picture to an engraving plate, the engraver has also reversed the orientation of the image.

THE SEVENTH AVATAR, or VEESHNU Incarnate in RAMCHANDRA

PLATE V.

combating with the ten-headed RAVAN, the gigantic Tyrant of CEYLONE.

To the Right Reverend Charles, Lord Bishop of Bath & Wells, the above plate is gratefully and most respectfully inscribed by

Law and Administration

AS TRADERS AND AS ADMINISTRATORS, the British needed to figure out the intricacies of the vast terrain with which they dealt. Geographical and botanical descriptions form part of the literature, shown in Case 2. Religious practices were an important part, shown in Cases 3 through 5. Also important, and illustrated here, were the law and custom of Indian society.

To appreciate the development of the British role in India, one must understand that for a very considerable time, Britain did not have a plan of conquest for the subcontinent. The British did not come overland with large armies, as had the Muslims of northern India. Their control did not extend to the possession and protection of large hinterland regions. Britain's role, like that of other Europeans with whom they were competing such as the Portuguese, Dutch, and French, was to establish bases for a secure and regular flow of trade goods. Only gradually did the protection and extension of these maritime trading interests metamorphose into a quest for military control of inland regions.

As traders, the British had, as a high priority, the dependable and uninterrupted flow of goods from their suppliers, and a stable and secure negotiating environment for establishing clear contractual relations. They needed to know and to respect the status and the authority of those with whom they dealt. As far as concerned their own conduct, the British might specify rules for employees of the trading company; but beyond the trading community, among the Indian population at large, there were clear limits to coercion because the sovereignty was local, not British. Hence it often became necessary to operate in many instances under local law.

It was early evident that the force of law was different in the different regions of India with which the British were dealing. On the west coast (Surat and Bombay) and in the southeast (Madras), the dominant milieu was Hindu. In the east, in Bengal (Calcutta), on the other hand, the ruling authorities were Muslim, though there was a Hindu popula-

tion. Hence Britain needed to describe and to comprehend both traditional Muslim and traditional Hindu law.

The main operative principle of Hindu law is *dharma*, the duty incumbent on a person in relation to his or her station in life. Privileges, obligations, and punishments varied according to one's status. The authoritative sources for Hindu law were the Vedas, the tradition's ancient ritual compositions. Hindus express their high regard for the Vedas, and some praise them as the eternal speech of the gods or the universe. The Vedic compositions were in Sanskrit, and for a long time their transmission was exclusively oral, among the Brahmin priests. Eventually they came to be written down, after early suspicions of writing as degrading were overcome. The first texts concerning *dharma* were of a type called *sutra*s, short and aphoristic, but later digests and commentaries, called *shastra*s, spelled out what were held to be their implications, in more extended prose detail and topical organization. The most highly respected law code was a *dharma-shastra* produced roughly two thousand years ago and attributed to the semi-legendary figure Manu (whose name rhymes with a rapid pronunciation of "the one who").

Islamic law derives its most binding authority from the Qur'an, which Muslims regard as the eternal word of God. Islamic teaching holds the Qur'an to have been eternally inscribed in heaven; it enters human history when recited by Muhammad, and within two decades after his death was compiled as a book by his followers. A Muslim sense of authority as essentially written contrasts remarkably with the Hindu understanding of ritual compositions as essentially oral. Of course, the Qur'an entered human experience about 1,400 years ago, and the Vedic hymns more than twice that long ago, when writing was less widely established in the world; but that is surely only part of the story.

Besides the Qur'an, Muslims have relied on the collected reports of the Prophet's other words, his actions, and the matters to which he consented. There are four main schools of legal interpretation among the Sunni majority, and the principal minority, the Shi'is, have their own legal tradition as well. Differences among the schools revolve around how strictly or how flexibly the Qur'an's and the Prophet's precepts are to be applied, with varying use of the principles of analogical reasoning and reference to group consensus.

By the time of European encounter with India, then, both Hindus and Muslims had developed extensive bodies of legal commentary and

interpretation, studied by religio-legal scholars. The Hindu scholars, schooled in Sanskrit, were most often referred to as *pandit*s (pundits). The Muslim scholars were known collectively as '*ulama*', the plural in Arabic of the word for a learned man, '*alim*.

Pietro della Valle. ***The Travels of Sig. Pietro della Valle, a Noble Roman, into East-India and Arabia Deserta.*** **London: Printed by J. Macock, for H. Herringman, 1665.**

Mughal rule in northern India was near the height of its power at the time della Valle travelled there. Akbar was succeeded by Jehangir in 1605, and Shah Jahan, builder of the Taj Mahal, came to the throne in 1628. The book is opened to an illustration of the banner of the emperor, the "Great Mogul".

A Code of Gentoo Laws, or, Ordinations of the Pundits, from a Persian Translation, Made from the Original Written in the Shanscrit Language. **London, 1776.**

The Hindu legal tradition covered contracts and inheritances as well as penalties for crimes and damages.

The British administration in Bengal sponsored a translation of Hindu legal material into English, made by a Mr. Halbed from a Persian version, "undertaken under the immediate inspection of the Pundits or Compilers of this Work".

Warren Hastings, Governor-General in Bengal, was uneasy about how some of the rights, privileges, duties, and penalties would be viewed by readers in England. When suggesting changes, however, he found that his informants did not have the independence or latitude to make them. Quoting from his prefatory letter published in the volume, addressed to "the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England, Trading to the East-Indies":

> I have not Time to offer any Observations upon these Productions; indeed they will best speak for themselves: I could have wished to have obtained an Omission or Amendment of some Passages, to have rendered them more fit for the Public Eye; but the Pundits, when desired to revise them, could not be prevailed upon to make any Alterations, as they declared, they had the Sanction of their Shaster, and were therefore incapable of Amendment; possibly these may be considered as essential Parts

of the Work, since they mark the principles on which many of the Laws were formed, and bear the Stamp of a very remote Antiquity, in which the Refinements of Society were less known, and the Manners more influenced by the natural Impulse of the Passions.

Abraham-Hyacinthe Anquetil-Duperron. ***Législation orientale.*** **Amsterdam: Chez Marc-Michel Rey, 1778.**

Anquetil-Duperron, who arrived in India in 1774, is remembered in part for being the first modern European to learn Avestan, the language of the Zoroastrian texts. He did this thanks to the tutelage of a Parsi priest in Surat. But Anquetil-Duperron's scholarly interests ranged widely and included work on the legal traditions of India. He incorporated into *Législation orientale* a twenty-two-page discourse in English by Alexander Dow, titled "A Dissertation Concerning the Origin and Nature of Despotism in Hindostan", the beginning of which is shown here.

John Bruce. ***Historical View of Plans, for the Government of British India, and Regulation of Trade to the East Indies. And Outlines of a Plan of Foreign Government, of Commercial Oeconomy, and of Domestic Administration, for the Asiatic Interests of Great Britain.*** **London: J. Sewell, and J. Debrett, 1793.**

The volume is opened to Bruce's discussion analysing the power of the Mughal Empire, still dominant in northern India at the time.

Jagannatha Tarkapañchanana. ***A Digest of Hindu Law on Contracts and Successions.*** **Translated from the Original Sanscrit by H. T. Colebrooke. Vols. 1 and 2. Calcutta: Printed at the Honourable Company's Press, 1798.**

The opinions of different scholarly commentators are cited and their nuances of interpretation sometimes contrasted, on topical matters. Volume 1 is opened to the discussion of loans to various persons:

> Nothing should be lent to women, because they are unable to repay it, for it is recorded, that they have no property exclusively their own …
>
> Nothing should be lent to slaves, because they also are declared to have no property exclusively their own.

Volume 2 is opened to the discussion of persons liable to slavery. Slavery is limited by the four broad hierarchical social classes or castes: just as one is not permitted to be the wife of a man of a lower class, so one may not be the slave of someone lower. As for servitude to someone of one's own class:

> The law permits the servitude of men of the military, commercial, and servile classes [i.e., the second, third, and fourth classes], to one of an equal class, on some accounts; but on no account let a man compel a *Bráhmana* to perform servile acts.

William Hay Macnaghten. ***Principles and Precedents of Moohummudan Law, Being a Compilation of Primary Rules Relative to the Doctrine of Inheritance (Including the Tenets of the Schia Sectaries) Contracts and Miscellaneous Subjects.*** **Calcutta: Printed at the Church Mission Press, Mirzapore; and sold by S. Smith, and W. Thacker, 1825.**

The volume is opened to a discussion of slavery under Muslim law. Slaves, it remarks, have a number of legal incapacities. They may not marry, may not give evidence in property matters, may not hold office, may not be executors or guardians, and may not give or inherit property.

> But as some counterpoise to these disqualifications they are exempted from many of the obligations of freedom. They are not liable to be sued except in the presence of their masters; they are not subject to the payment of taxes, and they cannot be imprisoned for debt. In criminal matters the indulgences extended to them are more numerous.

From Trade to Colony

BRITAIN'S PRINCIPAL INVOLVEMENT in India can be divided into two phases: one from about 1750 to 1850, the other roughly 1850 to 1950. During the first of these centuries, Britain operated through a trading monopoly that was gradually shifting from simple commercial to complex politico-military roles. During the second hundred years, British India was recast as a nation-state run under a colonial administration.

The British East India Company was organized in the same era as another important trading company dealing with another continent, the Hudson's Bay Company. Its roles were similar: the procurement of raw or unprocessed materials desired in England, in exchange for products of British manufacture. For the purpose of securing a base for such operations, fortified trading ports were established with British garrisons, notably Fort William in the estuary of the Hooghly River near Calcutta.

At first, the Company was a proprietary business venture. Individual Britons held shares in the Company, and were investors in its voyages. The investments paid off well if ships returned safely, with cargoes intact and salable at a profit over the prices contracted and paid to suppliers in India. If ships were lost or goods damaged or depreciated, the risk was likewise absorbed privately. But the Company did operate under government charter, and its policies were therefore a matter of public discussion and debate. A variety of crises toward the end of the eighteenth century resulted in the establishment of a twenty-year review and renewal of the Company's monopoly, so that it might be more accountable to Parliament in London.

Today, when communication and data transfer are virtually instantaneous, a corporation can control branch offices around the world in great detail. In the eighteenth century, communication was by sea only, and the voyage took months. Consequently, policy guidelines might be set by the Company's directors in London, but much had to be left to

the wisdom, the initiative, and the energy of administrators in the field. One can therefore observe, among the men who managed the operation, a variety of temperaments, and the influence of personal preference, politics, and leadership to a greater degree than is now common in corporate management.

The individuals who served the Company handled the trade for which they were appointed, but were then free to engage in their own personal ventures on the side. This is where eighteenth-century fortunes were made, and many returned from a tour of duty in India to retire to a comfortable life back in Britain. Moonlighting is hardly a novelty in our own times.

Though the Company did not start out as a state, it increasingly acted like a para-state and became the beachhead for direct British political and military control. At first, the need to arm the Company's outposts included protection from competing European powers, but more and more the British reach extended inland as alliances were forged with co-operative local rulers and skirmishes fought with others.

Increasingly, too, the British made use of local troops. Why would an Indian fight on the side of the Europeans, and risk conflict with other Indian troops? Rivalry was one answer; in many cases old feuds and disputes smouldered, and one could settle such scores by serving with the British against one's antagonists. Money was another answer; the pay might be better or more reliable than that of local rivals. Discipline was a third; the British were respected for their military efficiency, and one could be proud to be part of their units. Finally, one might mention a desire to be on what was perceived to be the likely winning side.

An Attempt to Pay Off the National Debt, by Abolishing the East-India Company of Merchants, and All Other Monopolies. With Other Interesting Measures. London: S. Bladon, 1767.

In this pamphlet the author argues that the abolition of the East India Company's monopoly would increase the government's tariff revenue, because with free trade the volume of goods consumed would increase.

Guillaume-Thomas-François Raynal. *A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies.* Revised, augmented ... Newly translated from the

French by J. O. Justamond. Vol. 2. Dublin: John Exshaw, and Luke White, 1784.

The title page of this edition is shown, along with a handsome facing illustration of merchants and sailing ships. The edition was printed in Dublin a year after the publication of Justamond's English translation in London.

Richard Twining. *Remarks on the Report of the East India Directors, Respecting the Sale and Prices of Tea.* Second edition. London: T. Cadell, 1785.

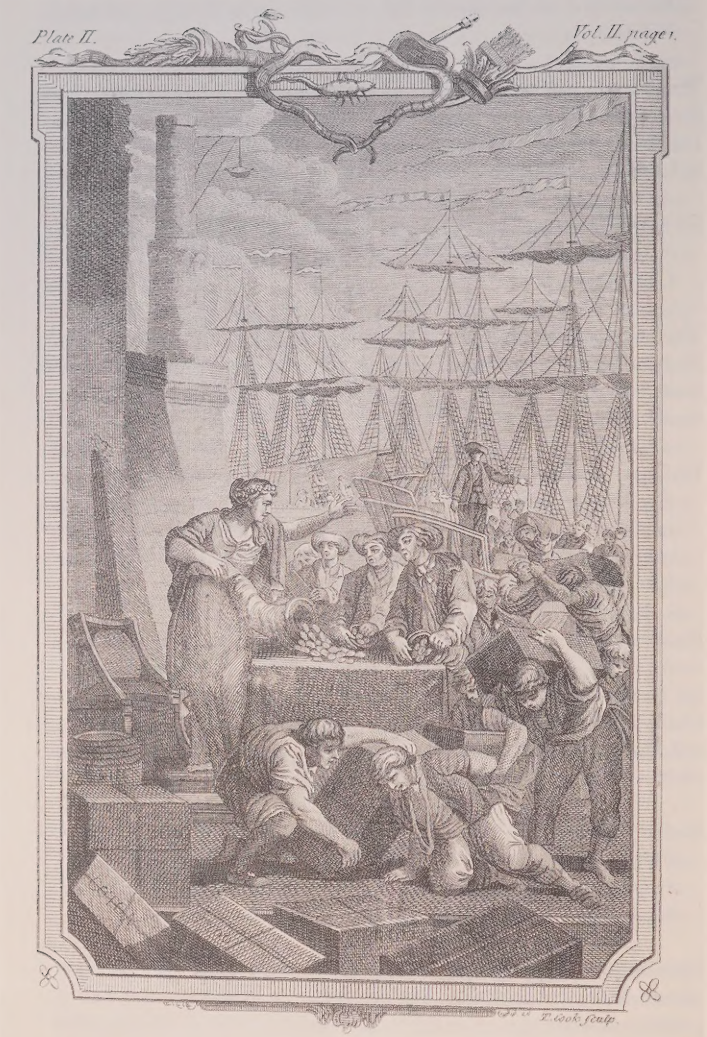
The Twining family name is still prominent in the sale of tea in Britain. Richard Twining, in this pamphlet, details the price structure of the tea trade. His argument is for reducing prices, particularly since lower prices would drive out smuggling by making it less profitable.

William Robertson. *An Historical Disquisition Concerning the Knowledge Which the Ancients had of India; and the Progress of Trade with that Country Prior to the Discovery of the Passage to it by the Cape of Good Hope.* London: A. Strahan, and T. Cadell, and E. Balfour at Edinburgh, 1791.

Robertson, an academic historian and administrator, discusses the routes of India trade in classical antiquity and the middle ages, including overland trans-shipment from the Red Sea or from the Persian Gulf. Among his observations are that one factor in the choice of routes was whether the spices were high-priced in relation to their weight, or whether they might be considered more like bulk commodities.

Richard Twining. *Observations on the Expediency of Making a By-law, to Prevent the Sale of the Commands of East-India Ships. Addressed to the Proprietors of East-India Stock.* London: T. Cadell, jun. and W. Davies [etc.], 1796.

Richard Twining's argument is anti-privatization, and seems strangely current today. He objects to the proposal of selling ship commands, a prized concession that one might now compare with limited-supply taxi



frontispiece of Vol. 2 of the Dublin printing of Raynal's History

A

PHILOSOPHICAL AND POLITICAL

HISTORY

OF THE

SETTLEMENTS AND TRADE

OF THE

EUROPEANS

IN THE

EAST AND WEST INDIES.

REVISED, AUGMENTED, AND PUBLISHED,
IN TEN VOLUMES,
By the ABBÉ RAYNAL.

NEWLY TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH,
By J. O. JUSTAMOND, F. R. S.
WITH A
NEW SET OF MAPS, ELEGANT ENGRAVINGS ADAPTED
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IN SIX VOLUMES.

VOLUME THE SECOND.

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MDCCLXXXIV.

title page of Vol. 2 of the Dublin printing of Raynal's History

REMARKS

ON THE

REPORT

OF THE

EAST INDIA DIRECTORS,

RESPECTING THE

SALE and PRICES of TEA.

By RICHARD TWINING.

THE SECOND EDITION.

LONDON:

Printed for T. CADELL, in the Strand.

M DCC LXXXV.

[Price 1*s.* 6*d.*]

licences. Since recent losses have been publicly subsidized, the sale of the concessions would now allow individual private purchasers to profit from the bailout.

Louis Marie Joseph, comte de Grandpré. *Voyage dans l'Inde et au Bengale, fait dans les années 1789 et 1790.* Vol. 2. Paris: Dentu ..., an IX, 1801.

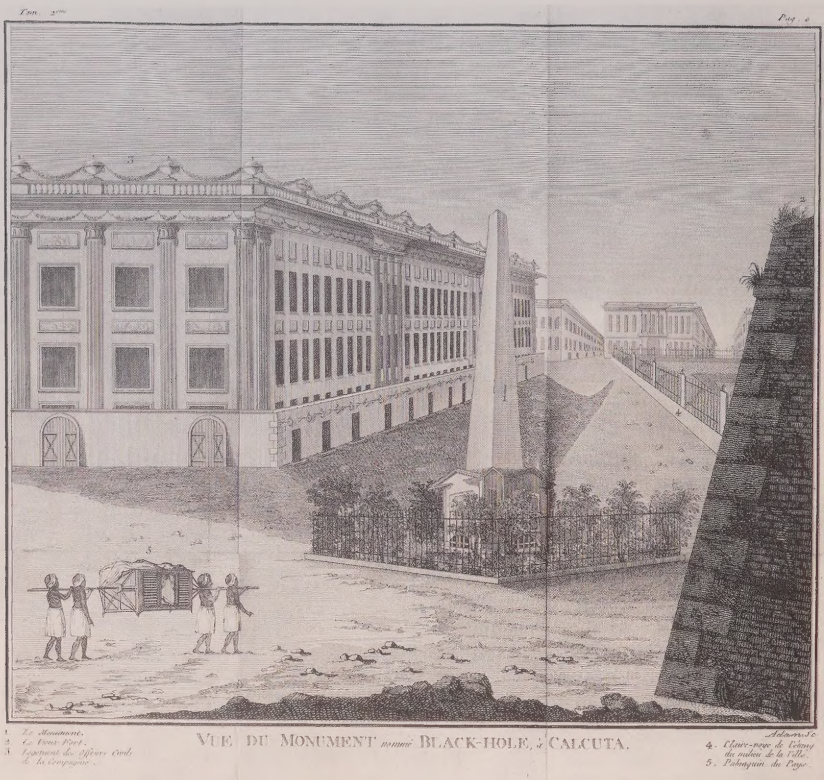
Grandpré's account of his visit to Calcutta is accompanied by an engraving, to which the volume is opened, showing the British government building and a memorial monument to the victims of imprisonment in the "Black Hole", a dungeon where in 1756 so many prisoners, including some British, were crowded that some died from heat and suffocation and others from trampling.

Bengal, also, Fort St George and Bombay Papers, Presented to the House of Commons, Pursuant to Their Orders of the 7th of May Last, from the East India Company, Relative to the Marhatta War in 1803. [London, 1804]

Lord Wellesley was Governor-General of Fort William (Calcutta) from 1798 to 1805, a period when the British extended their involvement across India through protectorate relationships with local states. The Marathas, in western India, were among the last holdouts, so that the struggles of the time were known as the Maratha Wars. The commander Lord Lake occupied Delhi and took the Mughal ruler Shah Alam under his protection, but neighbouring local rulers attacked, forced a British retreat, and besieged Delhi. These reverses resulted in Wellesley's recall to England, to answer both for having attempted to dominate India and for having failed in the attempt. Wellesley's goals were realized not too much later; the consolidation of British power is often dated to 1818.

The parliamentary publication exhibited, relating to the inquiry Wellesley faced, includes detailed battlefield maps. The volume is opened to the plan of the siege of Delhi.

Maria Callcott. *Journal of a Residence in India.* Second edition. Edinburgh: Printed by George Ramsay and Company, for Archibald Constable and Company, Edinburgh; and Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, London, 1813.


Tom. 2ème
Pag. 6
VUE DU MONUMENT nommé BLACK-HOLE, à CALCUTA.
Adam. sc
1. Le Monument.
2. Le Vieux-Fort.
3. Logement des Officiers Cord. de la Compagnie.
4. Claire-voye de Verres du milieu de la Ville.
5. Palanquin du Pays.

from de Grandpré's Voyage dans l'Inde

An illustration in the volume, which is exhibited, is a handsome engraving of Government House, Calcutta, in the era of emerging British hegemony.

Robert Grant. *A Sketch of the History of the East-India Company, from its First Formation to the Passing of the Regulating Act of 1773; with a Summary View of the Changes Which Have Taken Place Since That Period in the Internal Administration of British India.* London: Black, Parry, and J. Hatchard, 1813.

As Britain extended its control over more and more of India in the first two decades of the nineteenth century, people with a sense of history were aware that times were changing: that a trading company was indeed giving way to a fully-fledged colonial state.

Robert Alexander. *The Rise and Progress of British Opium Smuggling, and its Effects upon India, China, and the Commerce of Great Britain.* London: Seeley, Jackson, and Halliday, 1856.

This pamphlet describes the growth in the narcotics trade, where with British compliance, opium grown in South Asia was sold into East Asia. The pattern described is still relevant; Alexander complains of rapid social deterioration as a result of the drug traffic.

CASE 8

Life During the Raj

BRITAIN'S ADMINISTRATIVE ROLE in India expanded during the nineteenth century. Comparing 1800 with 1900, we can see the establishment of military and police discipline, a judiciary, rudimentary roads, and telegraph connections. Most important may well have been the civil service, the postal system, and the railways – institutions that have endured in India even after the mid-twentieth-century departure of the British.

The British who ran these institutions at the top level were vastly outnumbered by the population that the institutions served. Indigenous employees were trained to staff the various operations and bureaucracies at lower levels. Government employment was a prize to be sought, and by mid-century, the competitive examinations for civil-service appointments were an attempt to bring a degree of fairness into the process.

Running a bureaucracy was hard work, but it also provided opportunities for recreation. There were retinues of local support personnel in the military, the government, the trading firm, and the household. These were paralleled by comparable phalanxes at recreational clubs in the lowland cities and in the hill "stations", as well as in sporting excursions in the field. Comfort was bought at a price, of course; one gave up privacy in exchange for it.

Educational institutions and traditions have been an important British legacy in India. Schools and universities on the British model were introduced. They turned English into the language of interregional domestic communication, international contact, and for an educated minority, even an Indian vernacular. International communication among Hindus – for that matter, also Buddhists, Muslims, Jains, Sikhs, and Parsi Zoroastrians – today takes place in English.

Britain gave English to India, but India also contributed to English. The language acquired a vocabulary from Britain's Indian experience whose origins are not always recognized by its users in the West. Some of this vocabulary comes from the Hindi-Urdu milieu of northern India

from George Atkinson's "Curry & Rice"

and Pakistan, from Persian and sometimes before that from Arabic. For example, "punch", a fruit blend, comes from the Indian word for five (cognate with the Greek *penta*), because five beverages were mixed in its preparation. "Khaki", the word for a camouflage colour of military uniforms, comes from the Hindi and Persian *khak*, meaning "dust". Other vocabulary comes from the south, especially from Tamil: "catamaran", for instance, and "pariah".

By the late nineteenth century, British writers in India were compiling lists and dictionaries of Indian vocabulary that had made its way into English. The most celebrated of these glossaries was produced by Henry Yule in 1888 and revised in 1903. He gave it a loanword title, *Hobson-Jobson*, which in Anglo-Indian usage meant a hubbub or commotion. The etymology? Shi'i Muslim grief over the martyrdom of

Husayn in 680, re-enacted in an annual passion drama, with crowds exclaiming "Hasan" and "Husayn".

Thomas Williamson. *Oriental Field Sports, Being a Complete, Detailed, and Accurate Description of the Wild Sports of the East, and Exhibiting, in a Novel and Interesting Manner, the Natural History of the Elephant, the Rhinoceros, the Tiger, the Leopard, the Bear, the Deer, the Buffalo, the Wolf, the Wild Hog, the Jackall, the Wild Dog, the Givet, and Other Undomesticated Animals.* The Whole Taken from the Manuscript and Designs of Captain Thomas Williamson, who Served Upwards of Twenty Years in Bengal; the Drawings by Samuel Howett. London: Printed by William Bulmer and Co., for Edward Orme, 1807.

The large pages of this handsomely illustrated volume depict animals in India that the British enjoyed hunting, but the pictures provide significant vignettes of social history in the process. The scene exhibited is a return from a day's hunt, with the British colonists riding elephants, and a variety of Bengalis acting as animal handlers, spear carriers, bearers of game, and personal attendants riding the elephants and holding parasols over the British riders. The clothing of the British in this illustration appears hardly soiled at the end of the day's excursion; someone else has had to "do the dirty work".

George Francklin Atkinson. *"Curry & Rice," on Forty Plates, or, The Ingredients of Social Life at "Our Station" in India.* London: Day, [1859]

Various sketches in this book illustrate entertainments and personalities in the seasonal life of a British hill resort or "station". Scenes include horse racing, serving staff, and expatriate personalities such as missionaries. The book is opened to a view of the station itself, seemingly an attempt to re-create a small English town in the tropics.

The East India Government Guarantee on Railways, with Lord Canning's Speech on the Opening of the Railway from Calcutta to the Ganges. Third edition. London: W.H. Allen, 1861.

Britain's legacy in India includes a network of railways on which the country depends. The rails are one of the dominant unifying factors in the country, and remain the life-blood of inter-city communication. The system was beginning to be developed when the present pamphlet was published, with figures on the construction and expansion of railway lines inland from Bengal. Lord Canning, Governor-General from 1856 to 1862 and first Viceroy from 1858, expresses both the pride and the patronizing attitude of the colonial government of his day, dedicating a new rail line:

> To British science and British enterprise shall be committed in India the noble task of bringing security, comfort, and comparative wealth within the reach of races as yet ignorant of these; of extending the field of profitable industry to them; of supplying the wants of some by the superfluities of others; of enhancing prosperity where it exists, and of reviving it where it has drooped and decayed; of promoting fellowhip between men, and bringing light into dark places.

Nowhere in India or the world, he says, is there within one day's journey an opportunity to compare with the new Calcutta-to-the-Ganges line.

Henry Latham. *On the Regulations for the Competitive Examination for the Civil Service in India.* Cambridge: Printed by C.J. Clay, at the University Press, [186-]

This pamphlet, "Printed for private distribution", examines the differential in the chances that different candidates have for success in the civil-service examinations, depending on such factors as the syllabus, the fields examined, and the language competences tested. Latham argues against what we would call cramming courses, which build up a minimum base of general knowledge evenly across the scope of the examinations. The author prefers an evaluation of examinations that would reward penetrating excellence in a few subjects, rather than passing-level scores across the board.

George Clifford Whitworth. *An Anglo-Indian Dictionary: A Glossary of Indian Terms Used in English, and of Such English or Other Non-Indian Terms as Have Obtained Special Meanings in India.* London: Kegan Paul, Trench, 1885.

The copy of this dictionary is opened to the word "pariah". Calling an outcast a "pariah" has its roots in the Tamil word for a drummer, since drums had leather stretched across them, and to beat them with one's hands was to commit the ritually impure act of touching dead animal matter, forbidden to the upper classes.

John Lockwood Kipling. *Beast and Man in India: a Popular Sketch of Indian Animals in Their Relations with the People*. London: Macmillan, 1891.

Lockwood Kipling, Rudyard's father, taught art in Bombay. Actively interested in animals, Kipling wrote about India's wildlife and drew his own illustrations. The cover design of the book is calligraphy in the Arabic script, shaped to form the outline of an elephant.

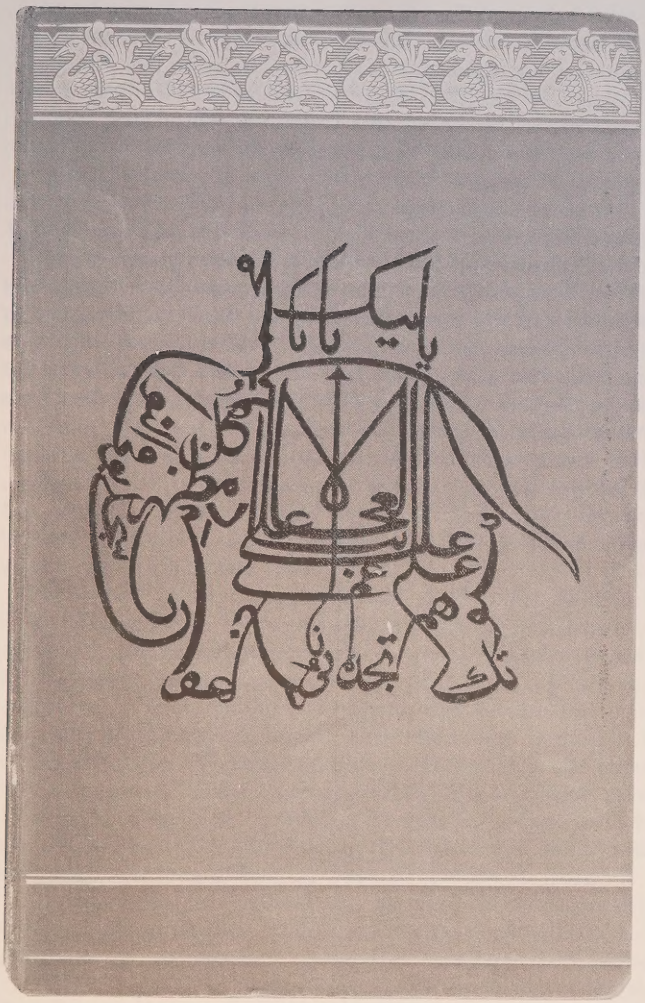
Rudyard Kipling. *Out of India: Things I Saw, and Failed to See, in Certain Days and Nights at Jeypore and Elsewhere*. New York: G.W. Dillingham, 1895.

Rudyard Kipling is the premier literary figure of nineteenth-century British India, renowned for both his poetry and his prose fiction. He captured a spirit of adventure that some Anglo-Indians exhibited, and also gave voice to a sense of duty, of managerial responsibility that Britain had towards its Indian subjects. At times, he evoked a sense of shared humanity between ruler and ruled.

Among Kipling's non-fiction writings is the volume *Out of India*, which straddles the boundary line between travel diary and essay. He is wry and uninhibited in his comments, such as when he discusses the polluted air of Calcutta. The city has been all of the things many large cities are: a place of active commerce, a centre of intellectual ferment, a showcase for wealth, and an abyss of poverty. Calcutta deserves a better reputation than it has had in the twentieth century, but there is no escaping the fact that its problems of poverty and disease – and pollution – appear chronic.

Here is Kipling, on the topic, a hundred years ago, in one of his less uplifting moments:

> For diffused, soul-sickening expansiveness, the reek of Calcutta beats both Benares and Peshawar. Bombay cloaks her stenches with a veneer of asafœtida and *huqa*-tobacco; Calcutta is above pretence … It is certainly



the cover of Lockwood Kipling's Beast and Man in India

> not an Indian smell. It resembles the essence of corruption that has rotted for the second time … If you live long enough in Calcutta you grow used to it. The regular residents admit the disgrace, but their answer is: "Wait till the wind blows off the Salt Lakes where all the sewage goes, and *then* you'll smell something." That is their defence! Small wonder that they consider Calcutta a fit place for a permanent Viceroy … Now, whether all this genial diatribe be the outcome of an unbiased mind, or the result of sickness caused by that ferocious stench, and secondly of headache due to day-long smoking to drown the stench, is an open question. Anyway, Calcutta is a fearsome place for a man not educated to it.

Lest any North American, or other reader of these words, think himself or herself smug and remote from such, one should remember that air and water pollution was already a problem in North American cities in 1895. And school atlases published in Britain with maps of disease distribution showed not just Bengal but wide areas in North America as problem regions for malaria.

Orientalist Scholarship

WITHIN RECENT DECADES, the term "Orientalist" has come under sharp criticism, so that fewer and fewer scholars studying the culture of any part of Asia are willing to identify themselves as Orientalists. This shift was prompted in part by the 1978 book *Orientalism*, by Edward W. Said, a professor of comparative literature at Columbia University. As a student of literature, Said could draw inferences from texts to their authors' motives and intentions perhaps more confidently than many historians allow themselves to do. But as a Christian Arab and a Palestinian, Said was particularly sensitive to the manipulation of peoples' destinies by alien interests and agendas. To Said, the era of European domination of the East – from the Arab world to India and beyond – was patronizing, disdainful, deleterious, and often downright demonic.

To be sure, Said made an important and valuable point. It is absolutely essential for Westerners seeking to comprehend any part of Asia to put aside earlier notions of self-importance or cultural superiority. The task is unfinished; subtle voices of chauvinism and prejudice continue to be heard, though when exposed they are now much more frequently disavowed. But what has not received adequate attention in the recent critique of "orientalism" is the genuine and altruistic respect for Asia that some Orientalists actually had. Their open-minded curiosity, sincere dedication, and intellectual integrity has inspired many for two centuries and more. The time may therefore be ripe for a rehabilitation of at least some of the early Orientalists.

One is tempted to admire, for instance, Sir William Jones (1746–1794). Jones was both a jurist and a remarkably versatile and gifted student of languages. He moved with ease from contemporary French and German, to classical Greek and Latin, to Arabic and the Persian of Muslim culture in India. In the service of the British East India Company in the 1780s, he felt the need not to be dependent on

the legal interpretations of local Hindu *pandits*, and so turned into a pioneer student of Sanskrit as well.

More than any other figure, Jones was responsible for the insights that launched comparative Indo-European philology, that is, the historical study of the classical languages of India and the content of the texts written in them. Jones perceived the similarity of structure between the Sanskritic languages of India and practically all of the languages of Europe. Consider an example. Almost everywhere from India through Iran and the Slavic countries to southern and northern Europe, nouns take an ending in *-m* when they are the object of verbal action in the sentence. Even in English, which has largely lost these endings, termed case endings, they persist in the pronouns: *him, them, whom*. And it is also clear that Sanskrit and Persian and Latin and English, and other vocabularies in between, associate the same or similar particular sounds with particular ideas; "father" in English is *Vater* in German, *pater* in Latin, *pedar* in Persian, and *pitar* in Sanskrit. This can hardly be coincidental, but must be evidence of a common source from which these languages derived.

In the south of India, Tamil and other languages stood apart, as did Arabic and Hebrew in the Middle East, and also Turkish; hence, one cannot base a general theory of culture solely on resemblances between India and Europe. But comparative Indo-European linguistics remains a remarkable achievement, launched late in the eighteenth century and elaborated by the efforts of numerous British, German, and French scholars during the nineteenth century.

William Jones. *The Works of Sir William Jones, in Six Volumes*. Vols. 1 and 3. London: Printed for G. G. and J. Robinson, and R. H. Evans, 1799. Lent by Prof. David Waterhouse.

As president of the Asiatick Society in Calcutta at its third anniversary meeting in 1786, Jones delivered an often-cited discourse on the history and literature of India. It raised, for the first time on record, the proposition that Sanskrit has an origin shared with many of the languages of Europe. Volume 1 in the exhibition is opened to the famous passage:

> The *Sanscrit* language, whatever be its antiquity, is of a wonderful structure; more perfect than the *Greek*, more copious than the *Latin*, and more exquisitely refined than either, yet bearing to both of them a stronger affinity, both in the roots of verbs and in the forms of grammar, than

could possibly have been produced by accident; so strong indeed, that no philologer could examine them all three, without believing them to have sprung from some common source, which, perhaps, no longer exists: there is a similar reason, though not quite so forcible, for supposing that both the *Gothick* and the *Celtick*, though blended with a very different idiom, had the same origin with the *Sanscrit*; and the old *Persian* might be added to the same family, if this were the place for discussing any question concerning the antiquities of *Persia*.

Volume 3 of Jones's collected works is devoted to his work as a judge, including his charges to grand juries and his studies of Hindu and Muslim law, operative in the Calcutta court where he presided. In a letter to the governor, Lord Cornwallis, Jones makes a plea for funding a team to work on the translations of these sources of law:

> It would be absurd and unjust to pass an indiscriminate censure on a considerable body of men; but my experience justifies me in declaring, that I could not with an easy conscience concur in a decision, merely on the written opinion of native lawyers, in any cause in which they could have the remotest interest in misleading the Court: nor, how vigilant soever we might be, would it be very difficult for them to mislead us; for a single obscure text, explained by themselves, might be quoted as express authority, though perhaps in the very book, from which it was selected, it might be differently explained, or introduced only for the purpose of being exploded.

John Shore, Lord Teignmouth. ***Memoirs of the Life, Writings, and Correspondence, of Sir William Jones.*** **Philadelphia: Printed for the Proprietors Wm. Poyntell, & Co., 1805.** Lent by Prof. David Waterhouse.

Shore preceded Jones as president of the Asiatick Society in Calcutta, and was a close associate there. Shore served as Governor-General in Calcutta, 1793–98. Following Jones's death in India in 1794 at the age of forty-eight, Shore collected and published the extensive correspondence to, as well as by, Jones, on both administrative and wide-ranging intellectual matters.

Jean-Antoine Dubois. ***Hindu Manners, Customs and Ceremonies.*** **Vol. 1. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1897.** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

From his ordination in 1792 to 1823 the abbot Dubois worked as a Roman Catholic missionary in India. He returned to a missionary administrative position in France with the conviction that the conversion of Hindus to Chrisianity would be impossible. During the course of his time in India he observed and recorded local ritual activity in detail, such that his work on Hindu practices, first produced in 1817, became a classic. His descriptions were painstaking and generally accurate, so that they are of value for historians and anthropologists, despite Dubois's explicitly missionary motives and his own rejection of what he describes. In his preface, Abbé Dubois expresses those motives as spurring him to publish his observations:

> There is one motive which above all others has influenced my determination. It struck me that a faithful picture of the wickedness and incongruities of polytheism and idolatry would by its very ugliness help greatly to set off the beauties and perfections of Christianity. It was thus that the Lacadaemonians placed drunken slaves in the sight of their children in order to inspire the latter with a horror of intemperance.

James Fergusson. *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*. Vols. 1 and 2. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co., 1899. Lent by Prof. David Waterhouse.

Fergusson brought ten years of residence in Asia, plus earlier efforts at general synthesis on architectural history, to this work. He remarks on the change in the potential for study wrought by the spread of photography in the years since his earlier work, for photographs of most of the important sites near major centres in India had become available and could be reproduced.

Nineteenth-Century Encounters

THOUGH REPUDIATING some aspects of Indian life, Britain was indisputably proud of its relationship to India. Over the decades from the proclamation of Queen Victoria as Empress in 1876 until Brtitish withdrawal in 1947, the titles FID DEF and IND IMP (defender of the faith, emperor of India) were the two principal things said about the ruler on the reverses of British coins.

Britain's shift from a primarily trading interest to an administrative and eventually ruling one took place over time. Rivalries with the French were part of the picture, both in the 1750s (at the time of the Seven Years' War in Europe) and again in the early nineteenth century (in the Napoleonic era). But in the century from Robert Clive's victory at Plassey in 1757, which placed Britain securely in control in Bengal, through to the suppression of the Mutiny of 1857, which placed Britain in a controlling position in northern India, the transition was made to full colonial rule over the major portion of the subcontinent. (The principal areas of local rule, such as Rajasthan in the west and the Deccan in the mid-southern interior, were essentially under sponsored, co-operative princes.)

As the British presence in India changed in the nineteenth century from a trading agenda to a ruling one, more and more Britons became engaged in its management. They came to the subcontinent to reside for longer periods, some raising families there whose members often thought of India as their home, or at least their second home. They became involved in an increasingly differentiated array of activities: military commands, civil administration, trade, social service, school teaching, missionary evangelism, journalism, and the like.

Important as a voice in the nineteenth century was the writing by Protestant Christian missionaries. Catholic missionaries had been an important part of the Portuguese contact with western India and the French contact in the southeast. By the nineteenth century, with the

emergence of Britain as the chief colonial power, the influence shifted to English missionaries, mostly Protestants.

England's missionaries were at first unwelcome – excluded not so much by the local population of India as by the British East India Company. In the eighteenth century, the Company preferred to operate within the framework of local law and custom, negotiating with local powers and authorities. The Company had no desire to open India up to the uncontrollable and possibly disruptive influence of Christian missionaries. Though missionary activity might disturb the status-quo traders of the East India Company, it gained wide popular support in Britain, and the Company had to yield and allow its operation.

Protestant missionaries were not the only resident Britons to have families in India. Expatriate life for foreigners in various occupations involved coping with local custom and local services. A household serving staff, composed of locals, was almost an absolute necessity. Even if one commanded the local languages, one would have neither the time nor the energy nor the connections to do things like marketing on one's own. Hence a European household in India came to be a kind of minor local social institution, with its formal procedures and its informal dramas of human personality.

Europeans resident in India became tourists when they visited other parts of the land. Travel accounts and diaries were an important genre. Some of these impressions appeared in the local English press, others back in Britain. A successful series of such reports could be collected and republished in book form.

What impresses students of Indian history today is the meticulous, almost obsessively archival, urge that the nineteenth-century British had to document things. Survey expeditions, military campaigns, administrative memoirs, personal travel: all were recorded in detail, for the benefit, not only of the authors' contemporaries, but also of future historians. The historian digging around in this material today can be fascinated, amused, occasionally delighted, and occasionally shocked, coming across the personal opinions and attitudes, explicit and implicit, that such reports contain.

John Clark Marshman. ***The Story of Carey Marshman & Ward, the Serampore Missionaries.*** **Popular edition. London: Alexander Strahan & Co., 1864.** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

William Carey (1761–1834), a Baptist, reached Calcutta in 1793 but in time was barred from activity there by the local British authorities. With two associates, Joshua Marshman and William Ward, he therefore moved to the Danish trading post in Bengal, then called Frederiksnagar, later Serampore. There, they were stunningly successful, to an extent that the British philanthropist William Wilbeforce referred to their work as one of the "glories of the British crown".

William Taylor. ***Four Years' Campaign in India.*** **London: Hodder and Stoughton; and New York: Nelson & Phillips, 1875.** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Taylor was a Methodist Episcopal missionary who had worked in California and was thus sometimes called "California Taylor". His report of missionary travels combines accounts of individual conversions to faith in Jesus, with reports on a church organization set up in districts with Bombay, Madras, and Calcutta as the principal centres.

Hannah Catherine Mullens. ***Prasanna and Kamini, the History of a Young Hindu.*** **London: The Religious Tract Society, [1889?]** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

In the course of relating the life of a Hindu youth who becomes a Christian, the author observes sweeping changes afoot in Bengal society under British rule. Education in English, and European (including Christian) values, have produced stirrings for reform among Hindus, such as the Brahmo Samaj movement. The preface to the book indicates that the story was written chiefly by Mrs. Mullens, associated with the mission in Calcutta, and completed by members of her family after her death.

Sixteen pages at the end of the book are a catalogue of other publications of the Religious Tract Society, in which the range of its

emphases and concerns can be seen. The catalogue includes annuals for the year 1889.

EXPATRIATE ITEMS

George R. Aberigh-Mackay. *Twenty-one Days in India, or the Tour of Sir Ali Baba K.C.B. and the Teapot Series*. **Eighth edition. London: W. Thacker & Co.; and Calcutta and Simla: Thacker Spink & Co., 1910.** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

These twenty-one character sketches, originally published in the 1870s in *Vanity Fair*, satirize tradespersons and other types whom the Briton encounters in India. The book can be criticized as patronizing in its portrayal of the indigenous population; but it is hard to consider the work malicious, since the foibles of Britons come in for humorous parody as well. Quoting from the chapter titled "The Old Colonel":

> The old Indian Colonel ripening for pension on the shelf of General Duty is an object at once pitiful and ludicrous. His profession has ebbed away from him, and he lies a melancholy derelict on the shore …
>
> The Old Colonel is not naturally an indolent man, but the prominent fact about him is that he has nothing to do. If you gave him a sun-dial to take care of, or a rain-gauge to watch, or a secret to keep, he would be quite delighted. I once asked Smith to keep a secret of mine, and the poor old fellow was so much afraid of losing it that in a few hours he had got everybody in the station helping him to keep it.

Edward Hamilton Aitken. *Behind the Bungalow*. **Illustrated by F. C. MacRae. Twelfth edition. London: W. Thacker & Co.; and Calcutta and Simla: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1920.** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

The behaviour of about fifteen kinds of service personnel whom the resident foreigner in Bombay is likely to hire – butler, cook, launderer, nursemaid, and so on – is humorously and satirically sketched in these pieces, which originally appeared in *The Times of India* and were first published in book form in 1889. Here again, the nineteenth-century colonial assumption of British superiority comes through, though mitigated by a touch of respect for local talent. Of the cook from Goa, for instance, "EHA" (as his name appears on the title page) writes:

> Trammel his genius, confine him within the limits of what is commonly called a "plain dinner," and he cannot cook. He stews his meat before putting it into a pie, he thickens his custard with flour instead of eggs, he roasts a leg of mutton by boiling it first and doing "littlee brown" afterwards; in short, what does he not do? … But let him loose on a *burra khanna*, give him *carte blanche* to sauces and essences and spicery, and all his latent faculties and concealed accomplishments unfold themselves like a lotus flower in the morning. No one could have suspected that the shame-faced man harboured such resources.

Flora Annie Steel and G. Gardiner. ***The Complete Indian Housekeeper & Cook, Giving the Duties of Mistress and Servants, the General Management of the House, and Practical Recipes for Cooking in All its Branches.*** **Twelfth edition. London: William Heinemann, 1921.** Lent by Prof. David Waterhouse.

Mrs. Steel married a member of the Indian Civil Service and at the age of twenty-one went to India, living there for twenty-two years until his retirement and return to England in 1889. She lived mainly in the Punjab, where she was an inspector of girls' schools, and served on an educational board with John Lockwood Kipling, the father of Rudyard Kipling.

From its first edition in 1888, her practical handbook to managing a household in India went through expansions, revisions, and updatings of price lists for more than three decades. It was addressed to the daily needs of resident Westerners many of whom were in India, not for love of its culture, but for career advancement or personal gain. These readers were coping with India as a problem, more than enjoying it as an adventure. They were far from appreciating the beauties and profundities of India's art and thought. Mrs. Steel's advice in this volume is directed toward practical problem-solving more than to broadening the reader's cultural horizons.

Many facets of expatriate life are dealt with: how to manage household staff, what gear and medicines to take along when travelling, how to instruct a local cook to prepare Western food, and so on. Besides listing recipes and remedies, she occasionally gives wry descriptions of what one must cope with. For instance, the general principles that the dishwashing servant appears to apply include:

Water is water, so long as it is fluid.

Cloths are cloths, so long as they hold together. After that they are used as swabs.

The floor is a floor, and nature made it as a table.

Only one side of a plate is used by the *sahib logue*; it is therefore purely unreasonable for them to cavil at the other side being dirty.

The resident foreigners do not escape her criticism. She counsels health precautions appropriate to the climate of India, just as one would take precautions against the damps and chills of England:

> In regard to the sun, it must not be forgotten that it is a *friend* as well as an enemy. Half the cases of neuræsthenia and anæmia among English ladies, and their general inability to stand the hot weather, arises from the fact that they live virtually in the dark. They feel "too languid" to go out early. "It doesn't suit them to go out before breakfast," &c. &c. Then it is too hot to leave the cool house before sun-setting. So, as the house, for the sake of what is called comfort, is kept shut up and in semi-darkness all day, it often happens that the sun is never *seen* or *felt*. The writer believes that the forced inertia caused by living without *light* is responsible for many moral and physical evils among European ladies in the Tropics.

REPORTING AND RECORDING

Hervey Harris Greathed. *Letters Written During the Siege of Delhi.* Edited by his widow [Elisa F. Greathed]. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans & Roberts, 1858. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Greathed sailed to India in 1836 at the age of eighteen, and was a political agent attached to the British field force at the time of the Mutiny in 1857. He died in the siege of Delhi, just before the British victory. He wrote daily to his wife, safe in Meerut, detailing the efforts of the British garrison and their local troops to hold the city. One can see a steady unfolding of events, with a gap: for September 13, his widow notes "Letters of the 13th lost; both the mail-bags were robbed."

William Denison. *Varieties of Vice-Regal Life.* Vol. 2. London: Longmans, Green, and Co., 1870.

After serving as Governor-General of Australia, Denison became Governor of Madras in 1861. His correspondence home to Britain with family and others is published in two volumes. The copy displayed is opened to an 1863 letter in which, with a classic example of the why-can't-they-be-more-like-us mentality, he gives vent to his frustrations:

> The worst feature in our relation with the inhabitants of India is our incapacity to act upon them in such a way as to modify their views, or to introduce any beneficial change of principle or practice. We are teaching them English, but their object in learning it is to get a place under Government. They, as a body, get little or no benefit from their knowledge of English, they do not read our books, and they have a literature of their own. The change, if there be any change, will be very gradual. I only hope that the Government will not put the cart before the horse, and give institutions which the people cannot comprehend, under the idea that they will adapt themselves to the institutions instead of adapting their institutions to themselves. This would be about as wise as it would be to put the father's coat on the child, in anticipation of the time when he would grow up to it. That time will *never* arrive in India ... I hold it most unwise to press upon such a people forms, or even principles, which we have, after centuries of labour and toil, made out for ourselves, upon the plea that they are the best possible. Man is not a mere machine, cast in one mould common to all; his physique is different in different climates, and so are his moral and intellectual faculties.

William Ferguson Beatson Laurie. *Sketches of Some Distinguished Anglo-Indians, with an Account of Anglo-Indian Periodical Literature.* New edition, revised and enlarged. London: W. H. Allen & Co., 1887.

An Anglo-Indian may be someone of British parentage currently or formerly resident in India, or the term may also mean someone of mixed British and Indian descent. By 1875, when the first edition of these sketches was published (by the firm of Day in London), among the prominent resident British there were already a number who had been born in India, thanks to the pattern of British family residence that had been in place since earlier in the nineteenth century.

Typically, an Anglo-Indian might go through school in India, sometimes a boarding school in an upland hill station, until reaching his or her mid-teens, when it was time for further education in England, or

employment there obtained through the family's network of friends or connections. But some Anglo-Indians, educated in Britain, returned to pursue careers in India for longer or shorter parts of their lives. Rudyard Kipling, the son of a British art teacher in Bombay, was one such. Another well-known writer, George Orwell, was born in Bengal and in adulthood returned to Asia for a stint of service in Burma.

Richard Temple. *A Bird's-Eye View of Picturesque India*. London: Chatto & Windus, 1898. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Temple, a veteran of service as Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal and Governor of Bombay in the 1870s and in Parliament in England in the 1880s, produced a series of descriptions of the land, people, and history of India for newspaper syndication in 1898. Grouped, they form this book, which came out in the same year.

His projections are now exactly a century old. Temple pronounces on the progress of India and prospects for the empire. The fact that he raises the issue at all is an indication that, even one hundred years ago, at about the height of British power and influence in India, people mulled over the question of whether British achievements could be maintained. Stirrings of sentiment for Indian independence, and not just the rivalry of colonial powers, are among the "dangers" Temple notes in the passage to which the exhibited volume is open:

> While the Indian Empire is safe according to all calculations that could ordinarily be made, though there is much more of strength than of weakness in this structure, still there are abiding dangers both within and without … Doubtless the stability of our rule largely depends on good governance, on the loyalty of some classes, on the contentment and acquiescence of the great majority. Behind all this, however, there must be the universal knowledge that armed force exists in adequate strength.

James Sykes Gamble. *A Manual of Indian Timbers, an Account of the Growth, Distribution, and Uses of the Trees and Shrubs of India and Ceylon*. New and revised edition. London: Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 1902. Lent by Prof. David Waterhouse.

The author served in the government's forest department and brought out a first edition in Calcutta from the Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing in 1881. Revised and expanded, the volume has

botanical information on types of trees as living species, as well as a detailed analysis of the woods harvested from them.

John Walter Sherer. *Daily Life During the Indian Mutiny, Personal Experiences of 1857*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1910. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Sherer, a younger man in India at the time of the Mutiny of 1857, contributed his own recollections of events to a project by Francis Cornwallis Maude, *Memories of the Mutiny*, published in 1894. His contributions were later republished separately.

The copy exhibited was kept through much of the twentieth century in the Ejaz Library of the local rulers of Jehangirabad, 105 km (65 mi) east of Delhi. Like many other books in the subcontinent, it has been attacked by worms, who have bored through the cover as well as the pages. In an effort to control them, the practice was followed of placing bitter, aromatic leaves inside the book; these are exhibited. The leaves of the tree *Melia indica*, known in Hindi as neem (*nīm*), also have medicinal uses, such as in poultices.

Francis Buchanan. *Journal of Francis Buchanan (Afterwards Hamilton) Kept During the Survey of the Districts of Patna and Gaya in 1811–1812*. Edited with notes and introduction by V. H. Jackson. Patna: Superintendent, Government Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1925. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Francis Buchanan. *Journal of Francis Buchanan Kept During the Survey of the District of Shahabad in 1812–1813*. Edited with notes and introduction by Charles Evelyn Arbuthnot William Oldham. Patna: Superintendent, Govt. Printing, Bihar and Orissa, 1926. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

These journals give a detailed record of villages, markets, amount and types of cultivation of land, and other details, reflecting the remarkable attention to detail that the tradition of British civil administration brought to India in the nineteenth century.

Anglo-Indian Poetry and Fiction

MANY BRITONS came to India for service, and for adventure. They served, and they had adventures. Some were profoundly touched by the friendships they made and the lessons they learned in a land many considered exotic. And there were people of British parentage who were born and raised in India, experiencing both cultures as to some extent their own.

A range of responses to life in India is seen in nineteenth-century diaries, poems, and fiction writing. Some from the West thought of life in India as a personal struggle, often at the practical level of coping with climate, culture, the harassments of daily life, and the foibles of those on whom one depended. Some delighted in India's nature and culture, and wrote of their sojourn as something they needed to interpret to their fellow Britons.

In the writing, both prose and verse, there was a considerable dose of character description of the staff personnel on whom the Europeans relied. Their foibles might be portrayed as individual, but many of these persons were "types". At the same time, there were stereotyped roles for the Britons as well. The earnest and principled young officer, with a sense of his responsibilities as an Englishman, might be the male hero of a story. The comfort-loving senior officer is another type, often mocked in satirical poems and sketches. The young heroine has the leisure of being a junior officer's wife, but has a sense of duty and responsibility. She may be something of an independent activist, liberated according to the standards of her day, and might explore India as a budding amateur botanist, anthropologist, or art historian while her husband pursues his career. But while perhaps headstrong, she remains dependent, and it may in the end be her hero husband's task to untangle a difficult situation. The potential villain of the piece in some plots may be an alienated single woman or the pampered and sometimes materialistic senior officer's wife, for whom the gossip and the petty

ambitions of life at the club are her world. Anglo-Indian novels were often about manners and mores as much as about character.

The sense of exile is a theme that pervades nineteenth-century Anglo-Indian writing. "Home" is not India; it is England, the land of one's birth – or one's parents' birth, for those born in India. Being away from home, and coping with different and rigorous conditions of life, is part of it. Being away from home, and keeping in touch with home, is another part. Communication consisted of letter-writing, to which substantial time of an evening might be devoted, and for which a wait of some weeks was needed for the message to reach England by sea and the response to come back. But one was sustained in exile by reading: by the literature of England, and by the news. Anglo-Indian poetry at the mid-nineteenth century shows an imitation of themes and vocabulary current in England.

In their literature, then, the exiles were *in* India but many of them not *of* it; they were reacting to their distance from home, regarding India as to some extent a hardship. At the same time, some were also viewing their presence in India as an opportunity: an opportunity to discover, and to learn. As the nineteenth century neared its close, the respect for understanding Indian character that Rudyard Kipling displayed in his verse and in his prose fiction was a sign that there might be a better hope for the progress of cross-cultural understanding and exchange.

POETRY

Mary Carshore. *Songs of the East*. Calcutta: Printed by D'Rozario & Co., 1855. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

The author says of herself, "Born and reared on Indian soil, she cannot boast an extensive or intimate acquaintance with the literature of the West." Yet virtually all the poetic language, describing weather, nature, and emotions could just as well apply to life in Britain. In her poem "The Beara Festival", however, she describes popular Muslim piety on the banks of the Ganges:

I stood one night amidst a merry throng
Of British youths and maidens, to behold
A witching Indian scene of light and song;
Crowds of veiled native loveliness untold …

Each brought her floating lamp of flowers, and swift
A thousand lights along the current drift,
Till the vast bosom of the swollen stream,
Glittering and gliding onward, like a dream;
Seems a wide mirror of the starry sphere,
Or more, as if the stars had dropt from air,
And in an earthly heaven, were shining here,
And far above, but reflected there.

Nowlukka. *Waifs and Strays*. Simla: Printed at the Station Press, 1867.
Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Those fortunate enough to escape the summer heat of Delhi and Calcutta by going up north and uphill to Simla enjoyed an almost country-club life. The presumably pseudonymous author of this collection of verses includes a verse response to rules regarding "extra members" of the Simla United Service Club issued by P. R. Innes, Honorary Secretary. There is not enough internal evidence to suppose that Innes and "Nowlukka" are one and the same, but the poet is clearly writing within, and for, the circle of the Simla summer colony of vacationing bureaucrats.

The title, *Waifs and Strays*, characterizes the collection of poems as miscellaneous. It has nothing to do with lost or homeless children, in the sense of the Church of England Waifs and Strays Society, founded in Britain in 1886 and subsequently renamed the Church of England Children's Society.

In the exhibition the volume is open to the poem, "The Advent", describing arrivals for the summer season in Simla. The ironic contrast between their ease, and the arduous situation others must face, is clear:

What tho' the country suffer,
What tho' the people cry,
What tho' a dearth stalk through the land,
And tens of thousands die!
What signifies this, when the great
Are sitting at their ease,
Enjoying Simla's fragrant air
Amidst the Kailoo trees?

What tho' the many suffer,
So that the few have rest,
So that the mighty in the land
Are not by heat oppressed?
Leave wholly in Calcutta
All heavy care or thought;
Simla's not made for business,
There pleasure may be sought …
Leave all the work to juniors,
Let them blunder if they will,
Whilst India's mighty magnates
Are perched on Simla's hill.

Aliph Cheem (Walter Yeldham). ***Lays of Ind.*** **Second edition. Bombay: Thacker, Vining & Co., 1871.** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

These verses include "Teeth, Teeth, Teeth!" the opening and closing of which are as follows:

Among the many ills white flesh is prey to,
In India's hot and enervating plains –
Mosquito's angry buzz by night and day too,
The wingéd ants begotten of the rains …
You may not know an inconvenience, barring
Th' already mentioned necessary ills,–
God save you then from what I've *known, forsooth,–*
No dentist, and an agonising tooth!

Aliph Cheem (Walter Yeldham). ***Lays of Ind.*** **Seventh edition. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink & Co., 1883.** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Added since the previous edition is "The Letter from Home", reflecting on the aging of a long-term expatriate's parents. A sample:

Another to add to the cherished pile!
One echo more from the far-off isle!
May the hand that penned thee be spared to twine
Lovingly once again in mine …

It tells, this letter, the love oft-told,
But the writing is hardly so firm as of old.
It breaks upon me the more I look:
The hand, I'm afraid, not the table, shook.

It is what, I suppose, one is bound to expect,
But it gives a shock when we first detect;
And it wrings a man, when he's tied to a land
Where he's thousands of miles away from the hand.

George Augustine Stack. *The Songs of Ind*. Calcutta: Wyman & Co., 1872. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

More than some of the other Anglo-Indian verse writers, Stack appears truly to love India, or at least to be deeply touched by its life – its art, and its struggles. The artistic appreciation is exhibited in Stack's poem on the Taj Mahal, placed in Reading Room Case 5.

Stack's feel for suffering and struggle comes through in the poem "The Sikh Soubadar" (district or unit leader), to which the copy exhibited is opened. The British were by no means the first conquerors of the Punjab or "five rivers" region of northwestern India. This fertile and populous area had long been a bone of contenion between Mughal rulers in Delhi to the southeast and Afghan rulers to the northwest. The Sikh sense of struggle is tied up with their desire for political independence in this region, which they did achieve most dramatically during the reign of Maharaja Ranjit Singh (r. 1799–1839). But after Ranjit Singh, things deteriorated, and in 1849 Britain annexed the Punjab. Stack's poem "The Sikh Soubadar" conveys some of the sense of political and military tragedy and disappointment. If it were written a century later, it might also include a call for recognition of the Sikhs as a separately defined and boundaried religious community.

When they wanted to color the Empire
For himself and the English, he said:
'What's the use, – I shall die in the summer,
And then you may color it red.'

He died, and my sons, though I say it,
Can the sword be the king of the head?
He died – and, with Runjeet the soldier,
The soul of the Punjab was dead.
We had soldiers to fight and plunder,
We had leaders to wrangle and brawl,
But the curse of disunion and discord
Was cast like a plague on us all.

Alfred Comyn Lyall. ***Verses Written in India.*** **London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1889.** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

From Lyall's "Meditations of a Hindu Prince":

Here, in this mystical India, the deities hover and swarm
Like the wild bees heard in the tree-tops, or the gusts of a gathering storm;
In the air men hear their voices, their feet on the rocks are seen,
Yet we all say, "Whence is the message, and what may the wonders mean?"...

Shall I list to the word of the English, who come from the uttermost sea?
"The Secret, hath it been told you, and what is your message to me?"
It is nought but the wide-world story how the earth and the heavens began,
How the gods are glad and angry, and a Deity once was man.

I had thought, "Perchance in the cities where the rulers of India dwell,
Whose orders flash from the far land, who girdle the earth with a spell,
They have fathomed the depths we float on, or measured the unknown
main –"
Sadly they turn from the venture, and say that the quest is vain.

Rudyard Kipling. ***Departmental Ditties, and Other Verses.*** **Seventh edition. Calcutta: Thacker, Spink and Co., 1892.** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Departmental Ditties was first published in Calcutta in 1886. Kipling's verse stands head and shoulders above others displayed in this grouping. Admirable in its content is the motif of sharing and human solidarity; the ideal encounter is a personal one of sharing, not an us-versus-them disputation of groups. This comes across in his verse preface to this collection:

I have eaten your bread and salt,
I have drunk your water and wine,
The deaths ye died I have watched beside,
And the lives that ye led were mine. . . .

I have written the tale of our life
For a sheltered people's mirth,
In jesting guise – but ye are wise,
And ye know what the jest is worth.

Ram Bux. *Boojum Ballads*. Bombay: Printed at the "Tatva-Vivechaka" Press, 1895. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

"Ram Bux" is believed to be a pseudonym. One of its two elements, Ram, is a manifestation of deity in the Hindu tradition, as well as a common personal name for Hindus. The other element is the Persian word for giving or gift, and figures in such Muslim and Parsi names as Jehanbakhsh and Khodabakhsh. Their combination, by an English writer, could result either from accidental ignorance of their disparate associations or from a deliberate desire to synthesize them.

The word or name "Boojum" is also puzzling. Henry Yule's 1903 *Hobson-Jobson*, the most compendious glossary of Anglo-Indian vocabulary, does not list it. Nor does the 1971 edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The 1934 Wesbster's "Unabridged" *New International Dictionary of the English Language*, however, cites a creature of the imagination: Lewis Carroll's boojum in *The Hunting of the Snark*, a species of snark the hunters of which "softly and silently vanish away". But imaginary animals are not a feature of these verses. A solution might be to associate it with the English word "bosom", pronounced in one of the North Indian dialects that substitute *j* for *z* (*Taj Mahal* from *Mumtaz Mahal*, for example). The poems are appropriate to the bonding of an intimate circle of expatriates, and while the expression "bosom buddies" may not yet have appeared, usage a hundred years ago did refer to the bosom of the Church or the family.

The collection contains much that is clever, but also outrageous and disdainful. An example, quoted for criticism, not endorsement, is the limerick "Young India":

There was a young man of Bengal,
Who e'er was a slave and a thrall,
Till some fools from the West
Made him think *he's oppressed,*
And now *he finds Ind is too small.*

James Nelson Fraser. *Deccan College: a Retrospect, 1851–1901*. Poona: Published by the author at the Deccan College, 1902. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

The Deccan College, in what is now spelled Pune, was formed in 1851 through the merger of the Poona Sanskrit College and the English-medium college of the local Education Committee, both then a generation old. This fifty-year history includes biographical sketches of staff who had taught at the College. The book is opened to the entry on Edwin Arnold.

In 1857, at the age of twenty-five, Arnold became its principal and held the post for sixteen years. Leaving India for a career as a writer, he became the editor of *The Daily Telegraph* in London in 1873. Arnold is best remembered for *The Light of Asia* (1789), a composition in epic verse telling the story of the Buddha and reflecting on the emptiness of things, along the lines of the ancient Mahayana Buddhist Sanskrit text *Lalita-vistara*.

FICTION

Philip Meadows Taylor. *Confessions of a Thug*. Vol. 1. London: R. Bentley, 1839.

Meadows Taylor was fifteen in 1823 when he first went to India, to work with a firm in Bombay. That firm was not doing well, and through a relative's connections Taylor got a commission serving the Nizam of Hyderabad, in the Deccan. His integrity and skill resulted in his rise within two years to assistant police superintendent for a district more than a hundred miles across. This was where he experienced the influence of highway bandits known as Thugs. The word, meaning rogue, comes from a Sanskrit root meaning "to conceal". These robbers were also murderers, leaving dead bodies at the roadside.

Taylor's administrative career prospered through his tactful handling of difficult situations. Put in charge of holding Berar against the southward spread of the 1857 Mutiny, he did so with no troop support. But in 1860, the Mutiny over, he returned to Britain at the age of fifty-two.

Taylor wrote during his Indian administrative career; for fifteen years he was Indian correspondent for *The Times* of London. *Confessions of a Thug*, his first novel, was written in India when he was about forty, and brought him literary attention. The copy is opened to a passage where the Thug tells of the initiation ritual he underwent.

Philip Meadows Taylor. *Ralph Darnell*. New edition. London: Kegan Paul, Trench & Co., 1889. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

The preface to the first edition of this work is dated 1865. Taylor based his historical novels on his experience in the domain of the Mahrattas, some of which is now the state of Maharashtra, extending inland from its chief city, Bombay.

Philip Meadows Taylor. *A Noble Queen, a Romance of Indian History*. New edition. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner, & Co., 1911. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Taylor set this historical novel, written in 1875, in the region he knew, the Deccan, but in the Mughal period, two centuries prior to his own experience. The queen is Bibi Chand, recalled for her resistance to the first Mughal campaigns into the Deccan, for her defence of Bijapur and her valour at the siege of Ahmednagar. Besides *Confessions of a Thug*, *Ralph Darnell*, and this work, Taylor also wrote: *Tara, a Mahratta Tale*; *Tippoo Sultan*; *Seeta*; and *The Fatal Armlet*.

George Otto Trevelyan. *The Competition Wallah*. Reprinted from Macmillan's Magazine with corrections and additions. London and Cambridge: Macmillan and Co., 1864. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

The suffix *-wala*, in Hindi and India's other Indo-European languages, denotes a person involved with, coming from, or characterized by, the word to which it is affixed. The suffix may go on Indian words, such as "motiwala" for pearl-dealer, or on words of English origin, such as "batliwala", bottle recycler.

"Competition-wallah" is of the latter type, and in Anglo-Indian usage refers to anyone in the Indian Civil Service under British rule who entered it by getting a successful score in the competitive civil-service examinations, first introduced in 1856. These candidates, successful on merit, were viewed with a mixture of anxiety and disdain by already established members of the civil service, many of whom had obtained their positions through connections or influence. The term's currency in English discourse was due in no small measure to Trevelyan's pieces, fictional in the sense that Trevelyan was not a competition-wallah himself. Serialized in their first release, they sketch Indian life in the form of letters by a civil servant hired by examination.

Henry Stewart Cunningham. ***Chronicles of Dustypore, a Tale of Modern Anglo-Indian Society*****. New edition. London: Smith, Elder, & Co., 1875.** Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Before Cunningham gets into the lives of his characters, all of whom are British and consumed by their romances and rivalries one with another, he tips his own hand satirically, concerning what empire might mean to a Briton, in a ten-page setting of the scene. Some extracts:

> Anyone who knows or cares anything about India – that is, say, one Englishman in a hundred thousand – is familiar with the train of events which resulted in the conquest of the Sandy Tracts, the incorporation of that unattractive region in the British Indian Empire, and the establishment of an Agency at Dustypore … Suffice it to say that the generally admired air of 'Rule Britannia,' which has been performed on so many occasions for the benefit of admiring audiences in different parts of the Indian continent, was once again piped and drummed and cannonaded into the ears of a prostrate population … The Sandy Tracts were ours.
>
> The next morning at sunrise the British flag was flying on the Fort of Dustypore, and a British General and his staff were busy with maps, orders, and despatches in quarters from which the ladies of a royal seraglio had fled the night before. Thenceforward everything went on like clockwork. Before the week was out order, such as had not been dreamed of for many a long year, prevailed in every nook and corner of the captured city … Courts began to sit, pickpockets and brawlers were tried; sanitary regulations were issued; returns were called for, appointments were made.

Flora Annie Steel. *From the Five Rivers*. Reprint of the 1893 edition. London: William Heinemann, 1901. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

Mrs. Steel, discussed above under her housekeeping handbook in Reading Room Case 3, distinguished herself as a novelist in England after her husband's 1889 retirement and return there. She had nine titles published by Heinemann, many dealing with Indian themes. For a novel about the 1857 Mutiny, *On the Face of the Waters*, the research took her on a return visit to interview people in India. Her novel *From the Five Rivers* is set in the Punjab, the name of which combines the Persian-derived words for five (*panch*) and water (*ab*).

"Valete" (Mrs. H. S. Laverton). *The Romance of a Hill Station, and Other Stories*. London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1901. Lent by Prof. Milton Israel.

While a penetrating sense of Maharashtra history can be seen in Meadows Taylor and a discerning view of Punjab society in Flora Annie Steel, the hill-station romances of Mrs. Laverton's characters are totally English and could almost as easily have been set in the parlours of the wealthy in Britain. The seasonal character of life at the hill station is perhaps the only significant difference.

Rudyard Kipling. *Just So Stories, for Little Children*. Illustrations by the author. London: Macmillan, 1902.

Kipling combines his own sense of storytelling with a sense of animals that doubtless owes much to growing up with an artist and animal-lover for a father. John Lockwood Kipling's book, *Beast and Man in India*, is exhibited in Case 8.

The book is opened to Kipling's account of "How the Rhinoceros Got its Skin", in which a Parsi lives on an "Altogether Uninhabited" island in the Red Sea. Because of the heat, they both strip, the rhino taking off his skin. How the Parsi's cake crumbs get into the rhino's skin, making him itch and rumple it, takes up the balance of the story.

What is a Parsi doing in the Red Sea? Parsis are not there today; they have left Aden, turning their homes and businesses over to others. A century ago, however, with close ties to the British, the Parsis were in evidence in mercantile trade, financial services, and marine outfitting in virtually every British port from Cape Town and Durban to Mombasa and Aden, to Rangoon, Singapore, and Hong Kong.

The Mystique of the Taj Mahal

ARGUABLY MORE than any other single scene, object, or person, the Taj Mahal has come to symbolize India to the West. The Taj Mahal is a mausoleum, a funeral memorial, built by Indo-Muslim emperor Shah Jahan (r. 1628–1657) in memory of his wife and completed in 1643. The wife, Arjomand Banu Begam, was known as Mumtaz Mahal ("the chosen one of the palace"), and this is the name which through a little linguistic erosion has yielded "Taj Mahal".

The Taj is situated on the banks of the Jumna River at Agra, 175 km (115 mi) south of Delhi. For at least a century, it has been the excursion most highly recommended for any visitor to Delhi. Western artists have sketched it, and Western travellers have recorded their appreciation of it. Indians likewise have claimed it, naming luxury hotels after it and displaying its outlines prominently on travel literature for both domestic and foreign consumption.

Discussions of the Taj Mahal fall generally into two categories. One has to do with the circumstances of its conception and construction. What kind of ruler was Shah Jahan? What was his affection for his wife, whom he married in 1612 and who bore him eight children before her death in childbirth in 1631? Are the tales of his devotion contradicted by the womanizing reported thereafter? And what about the stories that the artisans who worked on the mausoleum had their hands cut off, so that no other monument could rival the Taj? For this part of the debate, there are hagiographers, and there are revisionists. The reader may wish to consult responsible recent attempts to sift and compile the documentary literature, in particular W. E. Begley and Z. A. Desai, *Taj Mahal, The Illumined Tomb: An Anthology of Seventeenth-century Mughal and European Documentary Sources* (Cambridge, Mass. and Seattle: Aga Khan Program and University of Washington Press, 1989).

The other category of discussion has to do with the aesthetic appeal of the Taj. What is the genius of its proportions, the excellence of its decorative detail? And what is its cultural appeal?

For these latter questions, the exhibition features two photographs and three text extracts.

The photographs, taken a hundred years apart, show how the view of the Taj from the main entrance has been modified. In the late 1870s, the forecourt garden stretching between the entrance and the mausoleum is filled with trees that block a view of the main structure itself. The garden is overgrown. Nineteenth-century photographs display the domes of the Taj peeking above a forest. The garden appears to have been trimmed back at about the end of the nineteenth century, probably during the term as viceroy of Lord Curzon (r. 1899–1904), who took an active interest in the preservation of the Taj and other monuments.

The three literary texts chosen reflect a contrast of cultural preferences and prejudices.

Edward Gilpin-Brown, collector. Photograph albums [between 1878 and 1880] Vol. 1.

Opened to a view of the Taj Mahal taken from the main entrance gate.

Gilpin-Brown was a captain with the 92nd Gordon Highlanders who served in the second Afghan War in 1878–1880. The eighty photographs in the two volumes (given to the manuscript collection by Patricia D. Gilpin Brown in 1991) document his travels to and in India. They include views of well-known architectural monuments such as the Golden Temple in Amritsar and the Jami Masjid in Delhi, showing how they (and in some cases, their immediate neighbourhoods) appeared at the time. Included also are market scenes, street scenes, and posed photographs of military units in uniform.

Taj Mahal, 1975. Colour photograph by Willard G. Oxtoby.

Taken from the same location as the photograph in the Gilpin-Brown album.

The compiler of this exhibition and catalogue was in India for research during much of the 1975–76 academic year.

George Augustine Stack. *The Songs of Ind.* Calcutta: Wyman & Co., 1872. Photocopy of pp. 31-34.

Stack's volume of poems is exhibited in Reading Room Case 4. Reproduced here is his poem "The Taj Mehal". Stack's frame of refer-

ence for appreciating the building is typical of an educated nineteenth-century Englishman's reading and travel: the literature of Greece and Rome, and the great architecture of Europe. Stack views the Taj in universal aesthetic terms, in stanzas 7 and 9:

And he, the stranger, from whose Art-lit brain
Thou camest, as from some enchanter's wand, –
Wert thou the offspring of his exiled pain?
His wandering foot was in a distant land:
But ah! his heart was where the Master's hand
Had crowned fair Florence on her throne of spires;
Or where the columns of St. Peter's stand
To tell degenerate Romans of their sires –
To outlive her night of Art and shame – to last
The marble annals of her deathless Past.

O Taj Mehal! although the Moslem prays
Within thy shrines, and claims thee as his own;
Although thy echoing jubilees still raise
The wafted orisons to Allah's throne, –
Yet is the deep religion of thy stone
The universal creed no sect can claim –
The faith that blends all others into one,
In that for which thou art and must remain:
The God of all hath made thee from above,
The Shrine of Beauty and the Throne of Love.

Aubrey Menen, "Why the Taj Mahal is a Pity", in *India, Designed and Photographed by Roloff Beny … Essay by Aubrey Menen*. London: Thames & Hudson, 1969. Photocopy of pp. 130–132.

Aubrey Menen (1912–1989), a Hindu from Kerala in southern India with a British education, was a widely read interpreter of India to the West in the middle to late decades of the twentieth century. Like a number of modern Indian intellectuals, Menen was provocative, even iconoclastic; but his examples are so earthy and his prose so readable that the sixty-odd pages of his text on India scattered through this handsome coffee-table book constitute one of the more readable, though not one of the most flattering, introductions to India's cultural history and contemporary problems.

In the passage exhibited, Menen describes an occasion when, looking at the detail of the Taj Mahal, he was approached by an obviously well-educated Hindu gentleman and asked why the structure was considered so beautiful. Menen relates responding with a discourse on the elegant proportions of the Taj. Its lightness and grace he compared with other monuments such as the temples of Karnak in Egypt, and its liveliness he contrasted with the Parthenon in Greece. Menen writes:

> I went on for quite a while like this. Then he said: 'Thank you. Every time I look at it, it makes my blood boil.'

"No one," Menen continues, "can understand India today unless he can see why that man was angry." The Taj Mahal, he points out, far from being the summit of Indian architecture, represents to a significant number of people in India the historical subjugation of their indigenous tradition to the political dominance and cultural aesthetic of alien conquerors from the Persian and Central Asian world, namely, the Muslim Mughals.

If we in the West forget this, he goes on, we are hardly to blame. For our images of India come from books written in English, and the English who occupied India dealt mainly with the Muslim rulers of the India they encountered. The Indian dress that the East India Company men wore was Muslim, not Hindu, attire. When the British began to speak the local language, it was generally a Persian dialect that they learned, not Sanskrit.

Menen gives voice to a blend of two resentments: a general chafing at foreign domination that India as a whole shares with many other regions, and a particular annoyance at the equation of India with northern Indian cultures, languages, and institutions that rankles among people in southern India proud of their distinctive architectural traditions, Dravidian languages, and other aspects of regional identity.

Menen's own hero among the Mughals was the emperor Akbar (r. 1556–1605), who sought to bridge the ethnic and religious diversity of his realm. Many of Akbar's specific moves toward unity did not long outlive him, but their spirit remains relevant today as an ideal well worth striving for.

Mark Twain (Samuel L. Clemens), *Following the Equator*. New York: American Publishing Co., 1897. Photocopy of pp. 570, 576–580.

The American writer Mark Twain – journalist, novelist, essayist, humorist – grew up in Missouri, worked in California, and at the age of 35 settled in Connecticut. With the income from his writing he was able to travel; his European travelogues *The Innocents Abroad* and *A Tramp Abroad* are well known and sold widely. Because of financial difficulties in Connecticut he spent the decade of the 1890s resident in Europe, and the record of his round-the world tour, including Australia and India, dates from that period. It was published in the United States as *Following the Equator* and in Britain, with different pagination and chapter numbering, as *More Tramps Abroad* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1897). The book never became as familiar to the reading public as did his earlier European travel accounts.

As someone whose impressions of northeastern North America were formed in adulthood, Mark Twain could summon up the excitement of first discovery in writing about its regional characteristics. His comparison of the jewel-like splendour of the Taj Mahal with that of an ice-storm is sufficiently original among Taj Mahal writings, and sufficiently engaging in itself, that we conclude this catalogue with an extended quotation from it.

> I mean to speak of only one of these many world-renowned buildings, the Taj Mahal, the most celebrated construction in the earth. I had read a great deal too much about it. I saw it in the daytime, I saw it in the moonlight, I saw it near at hand, I saw it from a distance; and I knew all the time, that of its kind it was *the* wonder of the world, with no competitor now and no possible future competitor; and yet, it was not *my* Taj. My Taj had been built by excitable literary people; it was solidly lodged in my head, and I could not blast it out. …
>
> I know that I ought to do with the Taj as I was obliged to do with Niagara – see it fifteen times, and let my mind gradually get rid of the Taj built in it by its describers, by help of my imagination, and substitute for it the Taj of fact. …
>
> I suppose that many, many years ago I gathered the idea that the Taj's place in the achievements of man was exactly the same as the place of the ice-storm in the achievements of Nature; that the Taj represented man's supremest possibility in the creation of grace and beauty and exquisiteness and splendor, just as the ice-storm represents Nature's supremest possibility in the combination of those same qualities. I do not know how long ago that idea was bred in me, but I know that I cannot remember

back to a time when the thought of either of these symbols of gracious and unapproachable perfection did not at once suggest the other. If I thought of the ice-storm, the Taj rose before me divinely beautiful; if I thought of the Taj, with its encrustings and inlayings of jewels, the vision of the ice-storm rose. And so, to me, all these years, the Taj has had no rival among the temples and palaces of man, none that even remotely approached it – it was man's architectural ice-storm.

Here in London the other night I was talking with some Scotch and English friends, and I mentioned the ice-storm, using it as a figure – a figure which failed, for none of them had heard of the ice-storm. One gentleman, who was very familiar with American literature, said he had never seen it mentioned in any book. That is strange. And I myself, was not able to say that I had seen it mentioned in a book; and yet the autumn foliage, with all other American scenery, has received full and competent attention.

The oversight is strange, for in America the ice-storm is an event … The ice-storm occurs in midwinter, and usually its enchantments are wrought in the silence and the darkness of the night. A fine drizzling rain falls hour after hour upon the naked twigs and branches of the trees, and as it falls it freezes. In time the trunk and every branch and twig are incased in hard pure ice; so that the tree looks like a skeleton tree made all of glass – glass that is crystal-clear … The sun climbs higher, and still higher, flooding the tree from its loftiest spread of branches to its lowest, turning it to a glory of white fire; then in a moment, without warning, comes the great miracle, the supreme miracle, the miracle without its fellow in the earth; a gust of wind sets every branch and twig to swaying, and in an instant turns the whole white tree into a spouting and spraying explosion of flashing gems of every conceivable color; and there it stands and sways this way and that, flash! flash! flash! a dancing and glancing world of rubies, emeralds, diamonds, sapphires, the most radiant spectacle, the most blinding spectacle, the divinest, the most exquisite, the most intoxicating vision of fire and color and intolerable and unimaginable splendor that ever any eye has rested upon in this world, or will ever rest upon outside of the gates of heaven.

By all my senses, all my faculties, I know that the ice-storm is Nature's supremest achievement in the domain of the superb and the beautiful; and by my reason, at least, I know that the Taj is man's ice-storm.

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